A LETTER OF RESOLUTION Concerning ORIGEN and the chief of his Opinions.

Written to the Learned and moſt Ingenious C.L. *Eſquire; and by him publiſhed.*

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To the READER.

IN conformity to cuſtome which ſends few books into the world, be they never ſo mean, without ſome fair beſpeaking of the Reader, or giving him an account of the Author or his work, it was thought convenient that ſome little thing in that kinde ſhould be prefix'd to theſe few ſheets, and that I ſhould doe it, who may reaſonably be preſumed to have a greater knowledge and intereſt in this Affair then any other. Know therefore, Reader, that ſomewhile agoe, upon a certain occaſion which would be to no purpoſe here to mention, there was begot in me a curioſity to know the Opinions of that pious Father of the Church the learned Origen; and being neither by natural temper nor the way of my ſtudies nor condition of life either ſo punctually informed what was in generall eſteem accounted Orthodox, or much awed by the word, I ſuffered that curioſity to grow ſo great in me, that I was even afflicted till it was ſatisfied. But having neither time enough to ſpare from my own ſecular emploiments, nor philoſophy enough to pierce into thoſe recondite myſteries, I quickly perceived I could not by my own induſtry and meditation come to the end of my deſires. I therefore wrote unto a Friend of mine competently well

enabled with those advantages of leisure and metaphysical knowledge, conjuring him by our long acquaintance and friendship, to give himself the trouble of sending me an account of some Quæres I there put to him, tending to my contentment and satisfaction in this particular. He by good hap having just before finished a Treatise, which may one day see the light to the benefit of the Church, and having nothing new in the Forge, pitied my anxiety, and promised to doe something for the ease of my minde; and accordingly shortly after did me the honour to send me the following papers. Thou maiest easily imagine I received so obliging a present with all due resentment, and entertained the fair conceptions in it with extraordinary emotion of spirit. For really several things before lay so cross and scurvily in my Soul, that I took no pleasure to look into it, nay I was sensibly pained and prick'd when I had the hardiness so to doe. But I quickly felt all those unevennesses begin to wear away, and every thing to range it self in its right place and order, principles and conclusions fairly accorded, and a lasting peace and calm (for so I boldly presaged) possessed me throughout. Having received so great a benefit my self, and conjecturing that in this inquisitive Age, the minds of other men as well as mine might need, and would joyfully receive Relief by the same means which ministred to my tranquillity, and having by trial aloof off upon some capable persons found that my conjecture was real, I thought I should be envious if I did not endeavour to obtain leave of my Friend to make his papers publick. Whereupon after some time I resolved to give him a visit at his Hermitage (as he is wont to call the place of his retirement) for the effecting of my purpose. Where amongst

amongſt many learned and pleaſant Entertains, the clear witneſſes of a benigne nature, an innocent Conſcience and ſatisfied underſtanding, I moved my deſign unto him. He with an amazed look ask'd me what I meant. I plainly told him that I meant to doe what was in me, that others might receive that eaſe and benefit which I my ſelf had felt by his labour; for others there were in the world, I doubted not, in the ſame condition I was then in when I requeſted his aſsiſtance: and in exchange for his queſtion I asked him, why he ſhould be ſo unwilling to it as his looks ſhewed him to be. To which after ſome little recollection, The queſtions diſcuſſed in thoſe inconſiderable Papers you talk of (replied he) are great and bold, and you miſtake the world if you imagine they will finde an equal hearing, but are certainly much out in your account if you think men will be convinced of their truth by ſo mean an handling as mine is. For though I thought that would be enough to entertain your curioſity a little till the fit was over, and to offer ſome hints to your more deliberate meditations, yet I did not then while I was ſcribling of them, much leſs now in my cooler thoughts, conceive them convictive to any who were not in a very forward preparation to the belief of them already. For neither are the foundations of my reaſonings lay'd low enough, nor firmly ſetled, (being I was to follow Origen *rather then my own invention) nor is the order of my conceptions upon any of the Opinions ſuch as it ought to be: for I remember very well upon my reading the papers over after I had finiſh'd them, I diſcern'd ſome things in the entrance of a queſtion or an argument which by the right laws of diſcourſe ought to have come behinde; and others I ſaw were caſt into the*

close of it which would have done better service more forwardly placed. To tell you the truth, I did not scrupulously set my self any method, but took all thoughts that came, and as they came (if homogeneous to the whole) and there upon the spot fetter'd them in words, lest they might not have been at hand when I needed them, nor I been able to recall such fugitive things when their turn came. My Answers to Objections have the same carelesness in them, no applying this or that to such or such a proposition, but a diffuse speaking to the whole, being loth, as it should seem, to lose any good words that came in my mind; which must needs render my answer weak and obscure to strict logical readers. Many of my interpretations of Scripture are rather extravagant or pleasant then the serious confirmations of a weighty cause, and which affect to make the holy pen-men of Sacred writ speak Notions where in all likelihood they never meant it. I am also much too short in most of the points debated. Which faults though they be pardonable in a private letter to a familiar friend, will be sottish and ridiculous in a publish'd piece. Do you then impartially judge whether so short a discourse, full of so many and such monstrous defects, pretending the defence of high and rais'd mysteries against strong inveterate prejudices, be not a thing rather to be laught at, then received as useful to any better purpose. To this I smilingly replied, that he might be as bold as he pleased with his own; yet if he would that I should be of his minde for the present and acknowledge with him these Faults (as he call'd them) I was content, upon condition that he would take his papers back and mend them in all the particulars he was pleased to say they were defective in, and then give me that leave

which

which I then came to begge. This I preſs'd him to with all earneſtneſs poſsible, hoping that either he would do it, and ſo I might receive his ſecond and (as the proverb ſays) better cogitations, whoſe firſt pleaſed me ſo much: or elſe that he would be forced out of civility to grant me my firſt requeſt, if he was reſolved to deny the ſecond. And it fell out according to my hope; for being obſtinately ſet againſt all Review, partly becauſe he was now more ſeriouſly employed, partly becauſe that would look like an Approbation of Origen's *Opinions, he at laſt unwillingly permitted me to doe what I would with that I had. Which I here offer to thy candid acceptance, being confident thou wilt not be offended with any thing in it if thou beeſt of my humour, to think no Opinion formidable which does honour to God, renders him moſt amiable to men, and a ſure object of our Faith and Hope, which juſtifies the waies of his Providence, and reconciles them with his moſt precious Attributes, Equity and Benignity. Farewell.*

C. L.

A LETTER OF RESOLUTION Concerning ORIGEN and the chief of his Opinions.

SIR,

IF the partial judgement which your Friendſhip makes of me and the heat of your commendable curioſity would ſuffer you equally and coolly to conſider the Undertaker and his Work; you would out of pity to me, and honour to the great Perſonage you enquire of, exſpect no other Letter from me at this time then one of humble thanks for releaſing me from

the burthen your commands had laid upon me. For verily I much need your pity and relief, who am combated with two mighty contrary paſſions; the one an infinite deſire to doe the *Father* right, the other as great a deſpair of doing it, from the moſt certain conſciouſneſs of my own inability. And though by my undertaking of it I ſhall reap this fruit of having given you an evidence of what Authority your commands are with me, and how ready I am in the greateſt diſadvantages to obey them: yet I ſhall neither ſatisfie you nor my ſelf in the performance; and poſſibly be injurious to his *Venerable* name, in adding more Envy to his Opinions through my unskilful repreſentation of them. But to be bold with you upon the warrant of our Friendſhip, I think you are not at preſent capable of any equitable conſideration as to this particular; and therefore I do reſolve to bear the Neceſſity as well as I may, hoping it will prove a benefit to me and ſecurity for the future: for certainly you will not be very forward to impoſe a ſecond Task of this nature upon me, who have ſo ill acquitted my ſelf in the firſt. And to ſhew you how little power I have over my own Inclinations and Actions where you are pleaſed to direct them, I ſhall, even contrary to my own judgement, omit nothing of the Method you have ſet me; but give you an Account, ſuch as it will be, of all the particulars you deſire to know, and according to the Order they are in in your *Letter*; though otherwiſe being left free I ſhould certainly have wav'd the firſt of them, and poſſibly the ſecond. Five things then you enquire of.

1. What

1. What opinion the Ancients had of the Worth, Spirit and temper of his Perſon.
2. What they thought of his Doctrine.
3. What his *Dogmata* are.
4. By what Arguments he aſſerted them.
5. By what his Adverſaries endeavoured to confute them, and how I imagine an *Origeniſt* would anſwer to their Objections.

IN anſwer to the firſt be pleaſed to receive this Advertiſement in the firſt place, which may ſerve to arm you againſt the entertainment of a too-forward prejudice againſt him. Thoſe that are skill'd and well-read in the Antient Writers of the Church tell us that there are very few Records left of him, but ſuch as muſt be had out of thoſe writings which were on purpoſe compoſed to refute his Opinions; or at leaſt out of ſuch as collect and amaſſe together his Opinions without their Confutation, with deſigne to bid men beware of them and deteſt them. Wherefore it is not to be wondred at, if the heat of diſputation or zeal for what they were perſwaded was the Truth make them ſometimes in ſo pardonable a paſſion ſpeak ſomething more harſhly and tartly of his perſon and opinions, whom they imagined the adverſary and ſubverter of it. But to the buſineſs. 'Tis laid to his charge that he was carried away with too curious an endeavour of letting no part of holy Scriptures how hard ſoever goe unexplain'd, which proved his ruine; That he was very temerarious, and in his Interpretations ſaid any thing careleſſy what

he pleased; That he was καμπώδης καὶ δοκήσει σοφὸς, a searcher of things unsearchable, ἐκβιβαστὴς τῶν ἐπουρανίων, who fill'd all the world with his Toys and Nugacity, a fanatick, ἐθελόσοφος, a Caviller and jearer at the simplicity of true Believers, one who through his carnal minde and reasonings could not receive the Grace of the Spirit, an unbeliever, and the greatest of unbelievers, a pitiful vain-glorious man perverted by his great skill in the Greek learning. The unpleasantness of the Argument tires me already, and my reverence to the Censurers makes me abstain from their names. But I shall recreate your minde with his more advantageous picture, which they drew for him in a direct view of him, without so oblique a Cast upon his Opinions. And here they represent him as one who both in his youth and afterwards willingly and courageously suffered many persecutions and much barbarous usage for the Name of Christ and the holy Doctrine of Faith, being many times dragged through the streets of the City, reprochfully used and reviled, enduring tortures unsufferable, envied and hated by those in power for his eximious piety and learning; who overthrew and confuted all the Heresies that were in the Church in his time; very well skilled in the Natures and properties of *Animals* and other natural things; who liv'd an *Ascetick* life, and through his excessive strictness, spare diet, and abstinence from *Animals*, 'tis reported τὰ θώρακα αὐτοῦ πεπτωκέναι: whom none but the ignorant and unskilful can deny to have been the *Master* of the Churches after the Apostles; so well versed in the Holy Scriptures that he had them all without book,

book, and his knowledge in them was ſo great, that even his Adverſaries wiſhed to have had it, though with the Envy of his name; whoſe continual ſtudy night and day was to underſtand them, and to explain them to others; and innumerable Treaties of that kinde he publiſhed for the good of all men, beſide a multitude of other writings, to the number of 6000 volumes in all; who writ more then other men can read: and all this divine knowledge he had in conjunction with the perfect underſtanding of the profoundeſt Myſteries of the beſt and nobleſt Sects of Philoſophy; before whom *Plotinus* himſelf was aſhamed to continue his Lecture, ſo much did he revere this holy and learned *Father*. And to be ſhort, I referre you to the *Encomium* given him by *Vincentius Lirinenſis*. This is a *Draught* of him from thoſe who otherwiſe were not apt to favour him. And you in taking a view of it cannot but clearly diſcover theſe two things: the ingenuity and integrity of thoſe who were enemies to his Doctrine, in that they did not, like the Diſputers of after-ages, make all men ignorant and impious who were not of their minde; and the ſtupendious worth of *Origen*, which drew ſuch fair teſtimonies of his perſonal perfections even from them who through their diſlike of his Opinions could not poſſibly be his profeſſed Encomiaſts. And if I ſhould adde what intimations I finde of the eſteem had of him by ſuch as did not diſapprove his *dogmata*, you would then ſay that he was little leſs then an *Apoſtle*. But becauſe the witneſs of Friendſhip is ſo apt to be partial, and ſo leſs credible, I will wave it, and here make an end of the firſt *Quare*.

THe ſecond is, What they thought of his Doctrines.

They ſay his Hereſie, though entertain'd by the moſt eminent Chriſtians, and ſuch as profeſs'd a *Monaſtick* and *Anchoretick* life and poverty, yet was it πασῶν τῶν πολιτῶν μοχθηροτέρα. That his *dogmata* concerning Faith and matters of higher Speculation are the moſt abſurd of any that ever were before or after him, thoſe onely opinions of other Sects excepted which countenanc'd impure and filthy practices: That his doctrine of the Reſurrection, beſide the nugacity of it, was indeed mere unbelief; a deceitful opinion not maintain'd by Faith, but *Syllogiſms* and ratiocinations; ſubverting the confeſſion of our faith ὃν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἡμῖν συμβαινόντων · madneſs and ignorance and blaſphemy; a putative reſurrection and onely in appearance, for he did onely in words confeſs that Article, but indeed and in his minde denied and ſubverted it. His opinion concerning *Praexiſtence* and the happier ſtate of the Soul before ſhe was thruſt down into theſe inferior parts of the world, they ſay, is περιεργιὰς καὶ τερατολογία, without ſenſe or underſtanding, the conceit of bad men, blaſphemy and ſtolidity; That the *Author* of it did imitate the craft and deceitfulneſs of the Devil, that old Serpent, who of old deceived *Eve*, and ſtill does the mindes of the Simple: That his doctrine in general is abſurd and pernicious, a Serpentine deadly poiſon, which he vomited into the world to his own deſtruction and theirs who adhere to him. His doctrine of the holy Trinity, they ſay, is manifeſt blaſphemy, and he

he by it was the Father of *Arrianiſme*, and the root whence all other like Hereſies ſprang; ſo nearly ſymbolizing not onely with *Arrius*, but with *Eunomius* and *Manichæus* alſo, that they who have written againſt them have with the ſame labour anſwered to his Impieties; an enemy of God and the Church for his moſt hateful opinions: And one profeſſes in the word and faith of a Chriſtian, that his *dogmata* are poiſonous and contrary to Scripture. His opinion concerning the happy reſtitution of all things, and the liberation of the puniſhed, whether men or *Dæmons*, is ſuch, that they cannot tell whether they ſhould be grieved or laugh at it. What hath been produced upon this ſecond enquiry I think is ſufficient to let you ſee what opinion ſome pious and learned perſons of the Church had of *Origen*'s doctrines. I cannot here, as in the former *Quare*, oppoſe to this ſeverer Cenſure one more favorable in his behalf, becauſe the more ancient Authors I make uſe of in this whole matter were profeſs'd enemies to his *dogmata*; and I have heard of no other exſtant which befriend them. Yet ſomething you may gather from the firſt teſtimony produc'd in this particular, and adde to it, that he hath not wanted ſuch as have apologiz'd for him and defended the Catholickneſs of his doctrine; men very eminent in the Church for place and dignity, and alſo for their learned writings, ſome whereof are ſtill exſtant and in great eſteem in the world. One of them is by his Adverſaries themſelves confeſſed to be Catholick in the grand hereſie of all, to wit, that of the holy Trinity: a ſecond was ſo good a Chri-

a Christian as to confirm the truth of his Faith by Martyrdome. That I may not add that some later writers, but very learned men, have defended him too: for I know with some men it will be exception enough against their Authority to say they are *Modern*, with others against their Reason to say, This man was a *Philosopher*, that a *Papist*, a third a *Jesuite* the worst of Papists; for the holy *Father* hath found defenders amongst all these sorts of men. But instead of such testimonies of antient writers which do as much cry up the truth and nobleness of his *dogmata*, as those others I have produced do reprove their falsness and contrariety to the faith of the Gospel, what if I should give you a short history of their quarrel against him and his Opinions? may not this possibly somewhat lessen the credit of their harder censure? I will be very brief in it, because I know you would rather hear what his *Opinions* are, then see the contentions among the venerable Fathers of the Christian Church. *Origen* according to the philosophicalness of his excellent spirit had asserted God to be purely *incorporeal* and *immense*, and that it was an impious derogation to his *most perfect Essence*, to be limited by any form whatever, and therefore not by humane *shape*, however the Scripture does ascribe to him the several parts of humane bodies: And this he did with some zeal and earnestness, because some unlearned *Monks* of *Egypt* had advanc'd the contrary opinion; for which they were call'd by him *Anthropomorphites*. Now as it commonly happens, and as we see in the *Romane* Church, that the same *Orders* constantly transmit the same Opinions

Opinions to all their Succeſſors: ſo was it amongſt theſe ignorant *Monks*; for the ſame falſe conceit was preſerv'd and ſtrenuouſly maintain'd amongſt them almoſt two hundred years after. At which time *Epiphanius*, one of that profeſſion, had imbibed the Error, or at leaſt was not much averſe from it; for though he was without doubt a very pious man, yet it is apparent enough that he had not much learning, and therefore was very obnoxious to that dull hallucination: for his piety would make him very much revere the plain declarations of Scripture which countenance it, and his little learning could not reſcue him from the fallacy. But as tenaciouſly as the *Monks* of his time kept their old *mumpſimus* which their predeceſſors had taught them; ſo with no leſs care did other more learned Chriſtians retain the true and more reaſonable doctrine of *Origen*. And it is no wonder if there was much contention amongſt them, and many hard words given, to the mutual provoking and inflaming one another. It happened about this time that *Theophilus* biſhop of *Antioch*, an *Origeniſt*, and one who had in publick writings call'd *Epiphanius* an *Hereſiarch*, had ordained one *Dioſcorus*, an *Origeniſt* too, Biſhop of *Hermopolis*, and committed to two of his brothers the whole management of the affairs of his own Church: but they being as pious as learned did much diſlike the temper and practices of *Theophilus*, who was a proud, revengeful, covetous, crafty, and turbulent man; and out of this diſguſt left him, and retir'd to their Monaſteries again from whence he had call'd them. He ſmelling out what it was that diſpleas'd them, in ſtead of mending his manners, was re-

reſolv'd to be reveng'd of them: and therefore beſide his ſending ſeveral Monkiſh *Anthropomorphites* into thoſe parts whereto they had retir'd, to kindle that controverſie afreſh, to bring *Dioſcorus* and his brothers into what danger and envie he could, as holding the blaſphemous Opinion of *Origen*, (for ſo he impiouſly and againſt his Conſcience call'd it) he alſo perſecuted them by the armed force of Souldiers; ſo that they poor men were conſtrain'd to ſave themſelves by flying to *Conſtantinople*, where St. *Chryſoſtome* was Biſhop. And though this holy and wiſe Prelate would not communicate with them till the whole cauſe was heard and judg'd according to Eccleſiaſtical form, yet the proud *Theophilus* having nothing in his eye but violence and revenge, was reſolv'd to be reveng'd on him too for giving ſhelter to his enemies. And therefore through his malicious craft he abuſed the ſimple and unwary zeal of *Epiphanius*, and inſtigated him to call a *Synod* in his See for condemning the books of *Origen*; ſignifying to him withall, that though he had formerly been of another minde, yet now he had renounc'd that pernicious doctrine, and was wholy come over to his Opinion. By this device he knew he ſhould be even with all his enemies together, who all admired and reverenced the name and works of that learned *Father*. And by the ſame great craft of his it is thought he drew in St. *Jerome* alſo into the ſame confederacy. Which he might not difficultly doe, he being naturally of a very hot and eager diſpoſition, and though a very learned man, yet ſcarce beyond the bounds of *Philologie*. This Synod was call'd, and the books condemn'd,

condemn'd, according to *Theophilus* his project, who did the ſame in his own See too, and made *Epiphanius* write to *Chryſoſtome* to follow their example. But as it ſeems this holy Father was not ſo forward in the buſineſs; and therefore the reſtleſs ſpirit of *Theophilus* inſtigated *Epiphanius* to go to *Conſtantinople*, carrying the Decree of the Synod with him, to have it ſubſcribed there. But St *Chryſoſtome* refus'd to ſubſcribe, judging it very hard and unequal, and not according to the manner of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, that a perſon of ſo great learning and piety, who had been ſo ſerviceable to the Church, who lived two hundred years before, whoſe books no Council had condemn'd, ſhould now be condemn'd by a ſmall pack'd Synod of his profeſs'd enemies. But *Epiphanius* was reſolv'd to goe through with his work, being abetted in it not onely by the falſe and implacable *Theophilus*, but alſo by the *Empreſs* herſelf and ſome potent men in the Court, and ſeveral licentious Prieſts, who had a pique againſt *Chryſoſtome* for his free reproving of their faults: and therefore in the moſt invidious manner he could before all the people he recited the Decree, expreſly naming ſome of the *Origeniſts*, to wit, thoſe whom the wrathful *Theophilus* ſo cauſeleſly perſecuted, with oblique reflections alſo upon *Chryſoſtome* as the patron of them. And this fervent zeal of his for the Truth, as he conceiv'd, was the more eaſily boil'd up to this irregular height becauſe of ſome diſciples of *Arrius*, who ſince the condemnation of their Maſter and his doctrine not daring to avow his hereſie under that Title, craftily and moſt falſely endeavor'd to propa-

gate it under the unmeet cover of the plauſible name of *Origen*. If I was concern'd in the Opinions of *Origen* more then barely to give you an hiſtorical account of them, or took ſo great an intereſt in his quarrel as to be an adverſary to his adverſaries, I could mention to you that *Chryſoſtome* gently ſnubbing *Epiphanius* by *Serapion* for this pragmatical deſign of his (as ſome would call it) and medling ſo much where he had ſo little to doe, and kindly bidding him beware leſt from the ſtirr and commotion he had put the people in any danger ſhould redound to himſelf; the good man forthwith upon this advertiſement haſted from *Conſtantinople* to his own See, but died by the way. I could alſo tell you what befell *Cyrinus* biſhop of *Chalcedon*, a bitter enemy of *Chryſoſtome*'s, when the pack'd Biſhops were there who were to compoſe another Synod againſt that pious Father. There are not wanting who draw ſuch Accidents into argument againſt their unrighteous proceedings againſt two ſuch excellent perſons, and think they were the Rebukes of Providence. But ſuch events are of too lubricous a conſideration to be taken notice of by any but an Adverſary and an Oratour; but I am neither in this work you have impoſed on me. Only this you may plainly gather from what I have now related, that the great heat and bitterneſs againſt the Opinions of *Origen* had ſuch beginnings as no man now would dare to own, *viz.* the ſatisfying the revenge of an impious diſſembler, and the diſcountenancing a doctrine which almoſt all the Chriſtian world believes for true. But the eager contention againſt this one Opinion would neceſſarily diſcover many

many others which were like to be ſuſpected likewiſe: for *Origen*'s rais'd *Genius* could not but light on ſuch concluſions as were of an higher and more remote ſpeculation, which to heads unuſed to ſuch Theories would firſt appear ſtrange, and then falſe; becauſe we are very unwilling that any thing ſhould be true which we never heard of before, and which we do not now underſtand. Many of which concluſions fagotted together by ſome malicious or quarrelſome reader of his works, would make ſuch a ſhow to his diſadvantage in the judgement of the ſimple and unlearned, that without any ſcruple they would be ſet ag inſt him as a man of moſt monſtrous Conceits.

YOur third *Quare* is, What his *Dogmata* are.

By which queſtion I preſume you do not mean all the Doctrines that are in his writings which cannot be found in the common compendious Creed of the Chriſtian Church, nor amongſt the Articles of particular Churches, no nor yet in the uſual Syſtems of Theology; for it would be as hard to tell you what his Opinion is in all thoſe queſtions he propounds and diſcuſſes in his books, as it is unworthy in him who hath heap'd up ſeveral of them together as his Opinions, when yet he profeſſes of them that he does not propound them as the ſentiments of his own minde, but onely as noble and illuſtrious arguments of our contemplation, very well worthy to be further enquired of: but your meaning, I ſuppoſe, is of the moſt material of them, and which moſt offend

our other-waies taught eares. Thoſe of this ſort may be reduced to theſe Six.

I. His doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity, amongſt the *hypoſtaſes* whereof, they ſay, he puts an *inequality*.

II. That the Souls of men do *praexſiſt*.

III. That through their fault and negligence they appear here inhabitants of the earth cloath'd with *terreſtrial* bodies.

IV. That the myſtery of the Reſurrection is this, that we ſhall be cloathed with heavenly or *æthereal* bodies.

V. That after long *periods* of time the damned ſhall be delivered from their torments, and try their fortunes again in ſuch regions of the world as their Nature fits them for.

VI. That the Earth after her *Conflagration* ſhall become habitable again, and be the manſion of men and other *animals*; and this in eternal *viciſſitudes*.

Theſe are the chief matters wherein *Origen* is conceiv'd to have mightily tranſgreſs'd; and of which *Jerome* ſaies, *Cùm hæc rejeceritis & quaſi cenſoriâ virgulâ ſeparaveritis à fide Eccleſiæ, tuto legam cætera: nec venena jam timebo, cum antidotum præbibero.*

HOw he aſſerts theſe and upon what grounds and reaſons is your fourth *Querie*, which in Order comes now to be anſwered.

Concerning the *Firſt* of them, whether *Origen* ever uſed the very term *inequality* or *inequal* in his Speculations

Speculations of that myſterious and bleſſed *Eſſence*, I cannot ſay. Sure I am, I never met with it in his writings, and, what is a better argument that he uſed it not, none of thoſe object it to him who have made Collections of his Errors and dangerous Speeches. And therefore if the *thing* it ſelf be laid to his charge, it muſt be inferr'd from ſuch paſſages as theſe they take notice of, and have excerped out of his writings, *Pater non videtur à Filio, Pater non comprehenditur à Filio, Filius, qui eſt imago inviſibilis Patris, comparatus Patri non eſt Veritas*, &c. But if he did hold a *kind* of *inequality* amongſt the bleſſed *hypoſtaſes* of the moſt Sacred *Trinity*, a man would probably gueſſe from what he findes in his writings that his grounds were theſe.

1. The difference of their Eſſential Characters and *idiomata*; which is ſuch as might eaſily induce him to think that the Divine *hypoſtaſes*, which ſubſtantially *were* thoſe *idiomata* or properties, did alſo differ one from another according as the perfections differ'd ſignified by thoſe *Eſſential properties*. They are theſe; *Original Goodneſs*, or firſt *Plenitude* of Life and Being, All-comprehenſive *Wiſdome* or *Reaſon*, and *Demiurgical Love:* which though they all be truly and properly *univerſal* Natures, yet there is manifeſtly in the two latter and *derivative hypoſtaſes* a verging towards *particularity* if compared with the firſt *primitive* fountain of the Deity; and this drawing towards *particularity* is greater in the *third* then in the *ſecond*. For all things are in the *firſt* in ſuch an indiſtinct manner, and in ſuch exuberances flow from him, that our mindes cannot particularly ſet out *this* and *that:* but empty-

ing himſelf into the *ſecond*, we then finde them according to his Name and Nature limited and bounded and divided into their reſpective *reaſons* and *Ideas*, but without deſtroying his Eſſential *Unity*, for he *is* them all; from whom they being further carried down to the *third*, are by his *almighty* and never-failing power diſtinctly brought forth into viſible life and exſiſtence, exactly according to thoſe eternal *reaſons* and *ideas* which ſhone into him from the *ſecond*, and faithfully governed the operations of his power. And if we deſcend from this higher *Metaphyſical* Speculation, and take a view of theſe three Excellencies not as they are *Subſtances* in the Deity, but as Diſpoſitions and Qualities in created Beings; we cannot but pronounce that there is ſuch plain difference in their Notions, that if they were from their *accidental* Nature exalted into *Subſtantial life*, they would there alſo ſtill retain their difference.

2. There ſeems ſuch a neceſſity of nature that all Effects and Productions whatever, whether *voluntary* or *emanative*, ſhould decline ſomething from the ſupereminent Excellency of the Cauſe and Producer, that it is ſcarce poſſible to keep our mindes from thinking but that the Rule holds alſo in the *Divine Emanations*; eſpecially when the very names of *Father* and *Son*, and the modes of derivation, *being begot by the Father* and *proceeding from both*, do ſo fairly countenance the truth of it.

3. Though the *divine hypoſtaſes* be acknowledged *three* in reſpect of their proper *Eſſences* (for ſo, for more plainneſs, I ſhall crave leave to ſpeak) and thoſe three different, or *alius atque alius*, and not onely ſo,

in

in regard of three different *Names* or a threefold *Order* (as the Church hath rightly determined, againſt *Sabellius*, I take it:) yet if we abſtract from them in our mindes their *Names* and *Order*, and barely contemplate thoſe Eſſences, we can finde nothing in them (according to the *hypotheſis* of the *Equaliſts*) why one ſhould be called the *Father* or *Son* rather then another: which muſt needs have ſeem'd very harſh to *Origen*'s contemplative Spirit, if not derogatory to him who is ſimply *Firſt* in that ever-bleſſed *Triad*.

4. The ſtrict *Equaliſts* could not give him any reaſon why the Deity was not rather multiplied into an infinity of *hypoſtaſes* then have its progreſſions ſtopp'd at *three*. Nay it ſeems neceſſary by their *hypotheſis* that the multiplication ſhould be infinite. For the firſt *Original Good* communicating of himſelf to his firſt productions according to the *emanative* fertility of his own exuberant fulneſs, if they did as fully receive his life and power as he their Author was himſelf poſſeſs'd of it, the *third* would be as able, and by the neceſſity of equal plenitude would be as much conſtrained (as I may ſo ſpeak with reverence) to produce *three* more, and ſo on perpetually. And for them to ſay that the number was limited to *three* by explicite Will and Counſel, is to hazard the neceſſary Exſiſtence, and conſequently the *Divinity*, of the two latter *hypoſtaſes*, and to induce ſuch an indifferency into the firſt and earlieſt Operations of the Author of all things as is inconſiſtent with *infinitely-full Goodneſs*. Wherefore *Origen* was forced to conclude that the number was limited in a *Triad* by their unequal declenſion from the *firſt*, in ſuch a meaſure

and proportion that those *three* did perfectly comprehend and make up together in their *Essential idiomata* whatever Perfection goes to the constituting the entire ὁ Θεὸς, or Divine Essence.

5. Since God is an Essence infinitely perfect, and since all the perfections worthy of the Divine Nature, as Goodness, Wisdome, Power, &c. are neither of the same nature nor of the same worth and excellency, if every *hypostasis* be *essentially* all those perfections, they are *three Gods*; if one be one of them, another be another, they are not *essentially equal*.

6. He was encouraged to think these his Reasons good and his Conclusion true from the fair confirmations of it in holy Scripture; *ex. gr. My Father is greater then I. I live by the Father. The Son can doe nothing of himself. I can of my self doe nothing. The words that I speak unto you I speak not of my self.* And of the *holy Ghost* it is said, that *he proceeded from the Father, and is sent into the world by him.* That *he is the Spirit of the Son.* That *he shall not speak of himself. He shall receive of mine.* All which places, that I may name no more, do most naturally imply some kinde of *inequality*, and after the reasons given may pass for an evident testimony of the truth of *Origen*'s doctrine; which some men say is necessary to be established and believed, lest otherwise we be as sacrilegious to the Honour and Majesty of the *Father of all things*, as the ancient Hereticks were impudently injurious to the other *two* blessed and ever-to-be-adored *hypostases*. And if the temerarious and confounded conclusions of the meddlesome *Schoolmen* be received with a like temerity, they think there

will be as much need to multiply *Councils* in this latter age of the Church to assert the honour due to *God the Father*, as there was of old to restore the *Son* and *holy Ghost* to their deserved dignity of Nature in the beliefs of Christians, from whence the saucy ignorance and impiety of some bold men had detruded them. Thus, *Sir*, you have some of those reasons upon which *Origen* founded his doctrine of *Inequality*. Which *hypothesis* of his he hath so warily and judiciously formed, that it hath been said by some, that neither the subtiller attaques nor more rude and boisterous shocks of his Adversaries have been able hitherto to shake or disorder it, much less utterly to destroy the reasonableness and concinnity of it. And what some have too hastily phansied, and as clamorously pronounced, *viz.* that it made the *two* latter *hypostases* Creatures, and render'd some main parts of the *Oeconomy* of Christianity less reasonable and decorous, and was not consistent with many places of Scripture; have been like ill-planted Ordnance, which made a great noise and rattle indeed, but never touch'd the Fort their murtherous load aimed at. It is not my business here to give you a perfect explication of the Trinity after the *Origenian* way; but by that little hath been now said, with what I may have possibly some time or other more largely discoursed unto you, your piercing judgement cannot but plainly see and be satisfied, that there is nothing in that blessed *Triad* he describes which can be called *Creature*. Is not every one of them essentially, immutably and independently on any *Will* endowed with such perfection and in such a degree as is truly and properly *divine*? are not the

two *latter* unſpeakably-cloſely united with the *firſt*? and by their ſo near approach to him who is the pureſt Spirit poſſible are not they neceſſarily ſuſceptive of what he *eſſentially* is in a degree infinitely beyond the comprehenſion of a man? as likewiſe for the ſame reaſon of what one another are? are they not alſo by the divine excellency of their Natures the true and adequate cauſes of all creatures? How needleſs then and unskilful is their fear that they are not by his *hypotheſis* truly and properly God? And therefore the higheſt parts they bear in the moſt wiſe and gracious *Oeconomy* of the Goſpel, of being adored, worſhipped, invocated, obeyed, truſted in, and the like, do rightfully belong unto them, not onely by a temporary conſtitution of the *Father*, but by the eſſential and eternal dignity of their Nature. And the nature of every *hypoſtaſis* and their incomprehenſibly-near union one with another conſidered, they will neceſſarily have but one *Will*, and conſequently be of *equal power*; and the greateſt honour and ſervice any creature can poſſibly perform being manifeſtly due to the two latter *hypoſtaſes*, they are all truly of *equal glory*. Thoſe places of Scripture which (I ſuppoſe) they mean, *There are three that bear witneſs in heaven, the Father, Son, and holy Ghoſt, which three* ἓν εἰσι. *I and the Father* ἓν ἐσμεν. *I am in the Father and the Father in me*, and the like, are ſo ſolely congruous to his *hypotheſis*, that thoſe phraſes of ἓν εἰσι and ἓν ἐσμεν are very improper if every *hypoſtaſis* was perfectly like and equal to the reſt, and each of them *eſſentially* endowed with all thoſe perfections which intirely conſtitute the Deity or ὅ Θεῖον.

And

And leſt any man ſhould yet be ſuſpicious of *Origen*'s minde, beſide what he hath more then once in that very book of his which moſt offends, *That the Son is coeternal with the Father, and inſeparably united with him*, and *that the holy Spirit is not a Creature*; I dare wager my Credit and your Friendſhip, then which there are very few things more valuable to me, that in his excellent Treatiſe againſt *Celſus* he twenty times joyns together theſe words Θεὸς λόγος, and in ſeveral of them adds ὄντως or ἀληθῶς Θεός. For that impious *Epicurean* gave him very frequent occaſion ſo to doe by his fooliſh cavilling and jearing at our bleſſed Saviour, whoſe glory as of the onely begotten Son of God his foul and impure eyes could not diſcern through the veil of his humiliation and crucifixion. But I am to beg your pardon, *Sir*, for my heedleſneſs in anſwering Objections out of place; for by your Method that is not to be done till the *fifth Quære*. But my Pen, I know not how, grew warm, and was got ſo farre before I perceiv'd it was out of the way. If you pleaſe therefore to transferre ſome few of theſe laſt lines to their proper place in the *fifth Quære*, I ſhall take care hereafter not to preoccupate the Order you have ſet me. This is all I ſhall now ſay of his firſt *Dogma*.

His *Second* is, *That the Souls of men do præexſiſt*.

Before I ſay any thing of this, I am to put you in minde of two things which concern both this and his other Opinions which follow. The *firſt* is, that I ſo interpret your commands to me to write you an account of theſe matters, not as if you exſpected from me a ſtrict and accurate diſcourſe of them from their

first and lowest principles, and those principles philosophically prov'd and confirm'd, and then orderly advanced to the very Conclusions asserted by the *Father:* but onely such general touches at those principles, *Physical* or *Metaphysical*, in the laxe and diffuse way of a *Letter*, as may put you upon a more close and methodical consideration of them; or reminde you of consulting such Treatises where they are purposely and exactly handled. And therefore you will finde many things concerning the Nature of the Soul and her Operations, her *Union* with Matter, with many other incident speculations, not prov'd by me, but supposed, because they are fully and excellently discussed in the Writings of that learned Gentleman Mr *More* of *Cambridge:* whom since I have here named, I think I should be highly ungrateful, if I did not acknowledge the infinite obligation I have to you for giving me the first notice I had of so worthy an Author; whose lately-published Book of the *Immortality of the Soul* I unluckily not having by me at the present, the Account I shall send you of those things you enquire of, which with all helps and advantages would have been imperfect, is for that reason like to be onely not contemptible. The *second* thing I am to minde you of is out of the *holy Father* in the beginning of his book Περὶ ἀρχῶν· where setting down an immutable *Canon* of necessary Truths which the blessed Apostles and founders of the Christian Faith had plainly taught, and the Church received, and the contrary to which cannot be admitted but with the lopping of an essential part of our Religion; he then instances in many worthy objects

objects of contemplation concerning which there is no determinate declaration in the divinely-inſpired writings of holy Scripture: but the truth in ſuch things, he ſaies, was purpoſely concealed by the holy Spirit, to excite the ſtudy and induſtry of the lovers of Truth, and to reward their honeſt labour and pious diſquiſition with the finding ſo rich a jewell and ſo precious a treaſure. Of this laſt kinde, he ſaies, is this preſent queſtion concerning the Soul, *Whether ſhe be traduced*, or upon occaſion *then firſt created by God*, or *praeexſiſt*; as alſo ſeveral other of his *dogmata* which are behinde. And to doe him right, he propounds all ſuch diſputable matters doubtfully, and diſcuſſes them variouſly, and explicitely tells his Reader that he onely exhibites to him ſeverall *Phantaſms*, that he may uſe his judgement about them, and take which he thinks is trueſt. Which ſingular modeſty and fairneſs in this learned *Father* may ſeem to every candid and ingenuous man *Apology* enough for him where he is conceived to erre, and more then enough where he offers beſide ſuch probable reaſons as he does in behalf of thoſe Opinions which the world wil needs father on him. For the reaſonableneſs of this Opinion which is now before us, I finde theſe things in him.

1. That the nature of the Soul is ſuch as makes her capable of exiſting eternally *backward* as well as *forward*. For her ſpiritual Eſſence as ſuch makes it impoſſible that ſhe ſhould either through age or violence be diſſolv'd part from part, as it happens in bodies, where there is no *vinculum* paſſing through the very ſubſtance of them to tye and retain one

part to another; and therefore either through the ſtiller inſinuation of other bodies near them they inſenſibly melt away and decay, or by the ruder daſhes of ſuch as knock againſt them are broken all to pieces: whereas the Soul, as a *Spirit*, by the advantage of that *formal* power and property of hers whereby ſhe is diſtinguiſh'd from *Matter*, cannot onely *penetrate* her ſelf and other ſubſtances to the preſerving her own *continuity*; but alſo by her *gradual derivation* of part from part is in her whole Subſtance ultimately connected to her indiviſible *head* and *Centre*, as *Plotinus* ſpeaks. Which *Centre* being in its very *Subſtance* intellectual does plainly ſhew who is the Father of it, to wit, the *Eſſential minde* and *wiſedome* of God, whoſe univocal productions (as I may ſo ſpeak) are according to their meaſure and capacity what their parent is in the moſt perfect and moſt infinite degree conceivable, *Life it ſelf*, or *eternal Life*; and therefore whatever other parts of the ſubſtance of the Soul neceſſarily proceed and flow from this, can no more be cut off from it then *Indiviſible* can be divided, nor no more periſh then *Life it ſelf* can die. We have then here an *Eſſence* capable of eternal exſiſtence: and ſince the powers and operations of life are not ſuch things as can at pleaſure be put on and off like looſe-hanging *Adjuncts*, but are intrinſecally made up into the eſſential contexture of the ſubſtance they are in; ſo vital and active a ſubſtance as the Soul is, is as capable of acting according to her nature, and conſequently of feeling and injoying the pleaſure of her life and actions from eternal ages, as ſhe is of bare exſiſtence throughout that long period of duration.

So

So that nothing now is wanting to her actual exſiſtence but his good pleaſure from whom ſhe and all things elſe proceed. I appeal therefore to your own candid breaſt, and that noble benignity of minde which is in you, what reaſon or cauſe can you think of worthy of God, which will manifeſtly aſſure us that ſhe did not actually exſiſt of old? If you pitch upon the *Platonick* way, and aſſign the production of all things to that exuberant *fulneſs of life* in the Deity which through the bleſſed neceſſity and conſtraint of his moſt communicative nature emptied it ſelf into all *poſsibilities* of *Being*, as into ſo many capable Receptacles, you muſt then pronounce her exſiſtence in a ſenſe neceſſary, and after a ſort coeternal with God. But if ſuch expreſſions ſeem too bold, and the heats of an *Enthuſiaſtick Fancie*, take that more ſober *hypotheſis* which is built upon the more conceivable Attributes of God, his infinite *goodneſs* and benignity armed with equal *power* and directed by no leſs *wiſdom*, beſide which nothing can be thought on to fit one for Action; and then ask your ſelf, whether if the ſubject in queſtion be capable of exſiſting and enjoying ſome part of that infinite *goodneſs*, it be not evident from thoſe Attributes that it will be made to exſiſt; that which is infinitely good as certainly doing by a *Logical neceſsity* every thing that is good (no other Attribute gainſaying) as infinite Fire will neceſſarily burn whatever is combuſtible if put to it. Wherefore unleſs God act by ſuch arbitrary humours as we mortal men are aſhamed of as weakneſſes and imperfections in our ſelves, there is no doubt to be made but that this concluſion is true, That the Souls of

men did exfiſt and act before this preſent world was fitted for their habitation, at leaſt before they were born upon earth. I have heard ſome men ſeriouſly profeſs, that there was a light and power in this Argument farre more vigorous and convincing to their mindes, then in the plaineſt demonſtration in *Euclide's Elements*. But yet they wondred not that others were not moved by it, becauſe it required a peculiar diſpoſition of ſpirit to feel the force of it. For there are *Moral* axioms *noematically* true as well as *Geometricall*: and as if you imagine a man ſo miſerably confounded in his minde, that the *common notions* of *Geometry* appear'd not certain to him, he muſt neceſſarily be inſenſible of the evidence of any *propoſition* in that Science; ſo in like manner will it happen to him whoſe Soul is ſo much out of her natural order, as to have loſt or dull'd or ſilenc'd by what way ſoever her diſcriminative ſenſe of what is good, worthy, congruous, and decorous; all argumentations proceeding upon thoſe νοεραὶ ἐποπτεῖαι of a diviner ſenſe, which to others are Demonſtrations, will affect him no more then an *Ape* is taken with the *aire* of *moral* beauty.

2. The actions of Providence will not otherwiſe correſpond to thoſe holy Attributes in the Deity, *Righteouſneſs* and *Benignity*, according to which he governs and orders the affaires of all the world. This argument he makes uſe of two waies in his book againſt *Celſus* and in his Περὶ ἀρχῶν, *viz.* in reſpect of the *place* and *time* wherein we are born, and of the *Temper* and *Diſpoſition* of the *body* wherewith we are born. As to the *firſt* of theſe, there is no man doubts but

but that Education, Inſtitution and Company are of wonderful moment to the making us good or bad. For it is manifeſt enough that few are born into this world in any higher condition then a poſſibility (as I may ſo ſpeak) or capability of being made good and vertuous; which capability is perfected and actuated by good inſtruction and wholeſome precepts aſſiduouſly inculcated to us, and by exhibiting and commending to us daily examples of vertue and honeſty: ſo that when or where either theſe are wanting or of little credit and eſteem, or the contrary more in uſe and practice, there ſeems little leſs then a neceſſity of our running into all wickedneſs and vice. And if we call to mind the ſad Accounts we have met withall in Hiſtory, of Times and Places almoſt all the world over overrun with all manner of barbarity and luſt, adopted even into their laws and practiſed in their moſt ſolemn Religions, how can we but think that the Soul then and there born and living is inevitably condemned to all iniquity and impiety? What father will care for inſtructing his children in ſuch things as are of no uſe and ſmall regard in the place he lives in; eſpecially when they will certainly unlearn what he teaches them, by the ſtronger and more pleaſing impreſſions of publick practice? And indeed what father will be fit to teach them ſuch things, who himſelf hath all his life long in all probability done the contrary, being carried away in his younger years, as his children are now, by the popular ſtream of his Countrie's vices? Certainly there is very little likelihood he ſhould prove a benigne, loving, compaſſionate, or a juſt and up-

right man, who by the laws of the City where he was born is especially train'd up in his earliest years to the ferity and rage of war, and the sleights of theft and cozenage. And as small hope is there of his purity and chastity who is so solemnly led, by his father it may be, to behold impudent strumpets strip themselves and winde their rotten bodies into all unclean and lascivious gestures; and who with great devotion sacrifices to an allowed Deity his foul embraces of mercenary harlots. It would be very easy for me to be copious in this Argument: The histories of all Countries of old, all the Apologies and Disputations of the primitive *Fathers* against the *Gentiles*, the later descriptions of the Religions and manners of several Barbarous and Idolatrous parts of the world not long since discovered or visited, would afford me too plentiful matter to fill up a very sad Catalogue of all manner of iniquity, which hath and doth still reign amongst them with little or no controll. For God therefore to send out of his pure and holy hands an immaculate Soul, capable of living elsewhere, and fit for all vertue and heavenly wisedome, lest the lust of two brutish persons possibly should come to nothing, and condemn it to an habitation in such parts of the earth where reigns nothing but gross ignorance and vice, by which she cannot fail without a miracle to be overborn (having such a principle in her vivid and vigorous to which those brutish depravities are natural and hugely pleasing, and that better principle of life which should defend her from them being scarce in a possibility of being awakened into any considerable degree of power and energy in such an education and

and ſuch converſe and amongſt ſuch examples as are above deſcribed) what is this, ſaies the *Father*, but to betray his own offspring (for he is the Father of Spirits) unto unavoidable miſery, and to put off the chief excellencies of his moſt bleſſed Nature, *goodneſs* and *righteouſneſs*, and to govern the world with leſs juſtice then an ordinary upright man would do? You may, if you pleaſe, taking occaſion from what hath been ſaid, carry this *firſt* part of his argument from Providence further, and enquire how it came to paſs that ſo many whole nations both of old and at this preſent day were ſo overrun with all kinde of barbarity, ferity, and beſtial luſt, ſo utterly eſtranged from the knowledge of God and the love of vertue, ſo abuſed and tyrannized over by the accurſed rebels of the *Aiery principality*, the kingdome of darkneſs, laſtly, ſo quite eſtranged from themſelves and humane Nature, that they ſeem to have left themſelves nothing whereby they might be diſtinguiſhed from downright Brutes ſave ſpeech, and a ſomething larger and more methodical wit and craft to compaſs the ſatisfaction of their degenerate appetites. Truly, *Sir*, if you would form the *Idea* of humane perfection in no greater glory, or ſet the attainments of a reaſonable Soul at no higher pitch then the certain knowledge of ſome of your own vertuous Friends will warrant you to do, in whom (as you have oft with joy and wonder related to me) appears ſo pure and Angelical an underſtanding, ſo firme and radicated a life of all holineſs and ſanctity, love and hearty benignity to all the world, of juſtice and purity, and whatever is truly divine; and if you then conſider the vaſt diſſimi-

litude between this *Idea* and the Spirit of ſo many whole nations in the world; I make no doubt but you will ſay, that the life of man upon earth is too ſhort ſo farre to abuſe the capacity of what he might come to, as to put him in ſo low a degree of degeneracy as thoſe forlorn people contentedly live in. But not onely the degree of their apoſtaſy from a divine and intellectual life and of their immerſion in the brutiſh and ſenſual is ſo wonderful, but their continuance alſo in that wretched eſtate for ſo many Ages together without any remarkable appearance of Providence for their deliverance, nay rather with her perfect leaving them to the inſolence, ſubtilty, and conduct of the Devil, is a *Phanomenon* inexplicable without the *Origenian hypotheſis*. For ſince whole Nations and their continuance are but the *Aggregate* of ſingle Souls born into the world in ſucceſſive generations, and ſince every particular Soul comes into ſuch or ſuch parts of the earth with ſo vaſt diſadvantages as is above declared: if beſide this the crafty and malicious Serpent hath ſuch free ſcope to tamper with them, who at the beſt are very deceiveable; it can ſeem to you little leſs then neceſſary but that they ſhould be wrought into that enormous lapſe from God which Hiſtory and too ſad experience witneſs they are and have been. Now ſince the two great and moſt proper Objects of the gracious and beneficent *providence* of God are the *vertuous* and *fooliſh-calamitous* (of which latter Order thoſe miſerable Nations would in great meaſure be if Souls did not *praexiſt*) who can doubt but that *providence* would very early have appeared for their Reſcue, or rather taken

taken ſuch care that they ſhould not ſo much have needed any extraordinary aſſiſtance from her? But ſince we ſee *She* hath done neither, and yet are ſure that all her wayes are *gracious* and *equal*, it will be very hard for us to keep our ſelves from concluding, That all thoſe wretched Souls had of old by their long *revolt* from God and the laws of his righteous Kingdome highly deſerved this Scourge from him, to be ſo put out of his Care, as it were, and given up to the barbarous domination of the *Devil*, the *head* and Prince of the unrighteous and rebellious Empire of Darkneſs; and whom they by choice and affection fell off to in other Regions of the world, that him and his tyranny they ſhould here upon Earth ſtill ſuffer, whether with or againſt their wills. *Exedandum eſt tibi quod tute intriſti* is a piece of warrantable juſtice. And ſince there is poſſibility and hope that the preſent ſad part of the *Drama* may end, and a more chearful *Cataſtrophe* cloſe up all, the Benignity of Providence may in due time be as illuſtrious as her Juſtice hath been conſpicuous.

I know there are many men who, part out of piety and humility, part from a Parrot-like talking ſuch words as their Books and Education have taught them, would make no bones of this Difficulty of the *holy Father*, but can with very great eaſe and ſatisfaction of minde reſolve all into the *pleaſure* and *Sovereignty* of God, who being the Creator and Lord of all men, may (they ſay) diſpoſe of them how and where he pleaſes. But it would be very well if they were as zealous Parrons of the more excellent *Attributes* of God, as they are peremptory Aſſertors of his

absolute Will and *Power*. For then they would both render his Exsistence and Government in the world so desireable to all men, that none but the extremely-guilty would wish either his *not-being*, or his *non-concerning* himself in the Affairs of men; and also cut off many scandalous occasions of *Atheisme* and *Epicurisme*, and spoil the *professed* of those exsecrable mysteries of those over-plausible pretences they now have and craftily manage against the Truth. For tell me, *Sir*, if the Frame of the Bodies or the Passions and Affections of Men or Beasts in whole Regions of the Earth, or of many in every Region, were such as did plainly serve for nothing but to incommodate or cruciate them, or make them an inevitable prey to others; could you with any reasonable confidence affirm that the Goodness and Providence of a *wise minde* did preside over their generations? or think you you could reasonably satisfie the Exceptions of an *Atheist* or an *Epicurean* taken from such manifest *Phænomena*, by saying God might make them as he pleased which were his own voluntary handy-work? I am glad for my own particular all things are so made, that there is no occasion given for any such Exception; for, believe me, if there was, I know not how I should behave my self in so cross a rencounter. And may not these men with the same plausibility of reason maintain the same Conclusion from the odde Frame of things in the *moral* world, were it such as the deniers of *præexsistence* must needs make it? I think they might doe it with farre juster reason; forasmuch as a man is a farre nobler Creature, and the interest of his Minde and immortal Spirit much

much greater and more laſting, and therefore a more proper Object of the Care and Providence of God, if any Providence there be. Or are they ſo little peremptory in their Aſſaults as to be beaten off by ſuch painted Fire, ſuch hurtleſs *lambent* Flames as are caſt againſt them by thoſe who oppoſe to their Arguments nothing but the *Will* and *Sovereignty* of God? For they profeſs themſelves well aſſured that if God be at all, he is infinitely *good* and *wiſe* as well as powerful and uncontrollable; and therefore by the neceſſary conſequences of reaſon, whereever he is pretended by any to intermeddle either as to the *making* or *diſpoſing* of any thing, they exſpect to finde the Impreſſes and Indications of thoſe Attributes: but if in ſtead thereof they finde all things quite contrary, it is not in their power to think that God hath had any thing to doe there. But whatever ruine their Argumentations from ſuch ſubſtantial grounds may threaten to the ill-built Fabrick of ordinary *Theology*, the *houſe of Wiſdome* and Truth, which hath made *præexiſtence* one of her *Pillars*, ſtands as firm as a mountainous *Pyramide*; and by that *hypotheſis* the great *Phænomenon* of Providence we have been ſpeaking of is clear and righteous. Neither hath the *Atheiſt* or *Epicurean* any thing conſiderable to ſay againſt the Truth of it, either as it is a ſingle propoſition by it ſelf, or as an *hypotheſis* to ſalve the *Phænomena* of Providence. Which ſtreights of theirs they plainly enough confeſs by their either onely gravely ſmiling at it as an Extravagance, or with a more ſolemn brow chaſtiſing it as a dangerous *Paradox*. And truly a dangerous one it is to their pretended

and boasted *Wisdome:* but to the genuine Plants of heavenly Truth and Divine Knowledge 'tis as agreeable and salutary as Showers and Sun-beams are to the growing Spring.

The *second* part of the *Father*'s Argument from Providence is much-what the same with the first, *mutatis mutandis*. For the experience of most men can bear witness that there are not stronger allurements from without to all manner of viciousness, then we finde incitations to the same from our own intrinsick constitution: which (according to the common *hypothesis*) is not properly our Fault, nor any Fruit of it, nor was it in our power to prevent it; yet we are so fatally intangled in it, that it is next to a miracle to rid our selves in any good measure of its chains. Is not the world disordered, and Society poisoned, and mens own particular peace and honour miserably violated with the bdleful effects of the four Elements of our *terrestrial* composition? whilest some live even in this world in a perpetual *Fire*, and are tormented before their time through wrathfulness and strifes, contentiousness and injurious zeal which their *Choler* kindles in them; others on the contrary are drowned in sottishness and stupidity, and an utter ineptness to all things worthy of a man, by the overflowing of stupifying *Phlegme*; a third sort toss'd about like feathers with light-mindedness and admiration of trifles, or wafted into the foul lake of bodily pleasures by the gusts of reeking *Blood*; a fourth consumed by that slow-devouring *Demogorgon* in the Earthy *Melancholy*, in which lodge anxious Fear, dark Suspicion, and fretting Envie. And though you possibly may have

have heard ſome men talk of *liberty* and *free-will* and a ſovereign power in us to keep all theſe rebellious humours in good order, and that with much eaſe, if we would but give our mindes to it; yet if you but conſider whence it is that they talk in that high ſtrain, you will begin to think they reckon without their hoſt and againſt experience. Such men have a ſort of adverſaries, who from the aſſurance of their very ſenſes that there is a great *lapſe* and degeneracy in univerſal mankinde, do without all ceremony bluntly caſt the cauſe upon God, or at beſt aſſigne ſuch a reaſon of it as their *Antagoniſts* think comes to the ſame; who therefore out of an abhorrency to ſuch blaſphemy (as they call it) think it better and more pious to deny the truth of a manifeſt obſervation then to make God the Author of ſo calamitous a *Phænomenon*. Where by the way you may obſerve that both ſides by their earneſt contention making good *half* of their reſpective Opinions, have to the free enquirer and lover of Truth facilitated his finding out the true cauſe, which neither contradicts Experience, nor is injurious to the Glory of the *Almighty*. But granting to theſe contenders for *Free-will* that ſomething of what they plead for is true (as indeed it cannot be denied) I yet would ask them, whether or no the condition of our Nature conſidered, the ſtrong inclinations in us naturally to that which is evil, and theſe ſtrengthened and further confirmed for ſeveral years before we can come to have any conſiderable uſe of our reaſon, or arrive to any command over our ſelves, laſtly, the way and manner how the Elections of our *Will* are performed, which we never finde free

where there is a *cuſtom* or *paſſion* againſt it, and how corporeal motions determine the thoughts and paſſions of our minde; I ask them whether, theſe things being conſidered, it be not hundreds to one oddes that we ſhall chuſe the ways of vice rather then vertue. Or let the diſproportion be as little as they can with any colour pretend, they cannot clear the goodneſs and rectitude of Divine *Providence* by their *hypotheſis*, which thruſts pure and immaculate and moſt innocent Spirits into ſo great danger of being defiled and corrupted by the paſſions of the *body*, and of ſoundly ſmarting for it hereafter. But for my own part, I think the obſervation of their Adverſaries is much the truer, that the diſproportion is exceeding great: for ſince the wayes of holineſs and vertue are ſo full of peace and unſpeakable contentment, and ſhine with ſo enraviſhing and irreſiſtible pulchritude to prepared mindes, and do ſo perfectly correſpond to all the Senſes of ſo happy a Temper, that we are fully aſſured our Soul is then as ſhe ſhould be and in conjunction with her moſt proper Good; I cannot ſee why men ſhould univerſally take the contrary courſe, and that with ſo much paſſion as they do, jearing at thoſe who have made the better choice, as mad-men or fools, if there was any *liberty* in them worth ſpeaking of to vertue or piety. 'Tis true indeed, there is great variety as to degree in the backwardneſs of men to goodneſs and vertue and proneneſs to that which is evil; yet thoſe who have the care and nurture of youth, Fathers, Schoolmaſters and Tutours, do with one conſent affirm, that they not ſeldome have ſome in their charge, who from their earlieſt years

years are of ſo inexpugnable a propenſion to that which is naught, ſo wretchleſs and inſenſible of all wholeſome counſels, and have their eies ſo perfectly ſeal'd up and their hearts ſo frozen to all impreſſions of vertue and ſobriety, that you may as well read lectures of Temperance to a goat or a boar, and as ſucceſsfully teach goodneſs, pity and kindeneſs to a beare robbed of her whelps or a tigre inraged with hunger, as think to faſten any ſuch things upon their blinde and obdurate mindes. Whence is this ſtrange *Phænomenon?* If the Soul was not in the world before ſhe was born upon earth, it is not conceivable how ſhe ſhould in ſo little a time contract ſo peremptory an affection to vice amidſt thoſe continual chidings and reproofs, thoſe ſharp and painfull corrections, thoſe ſeveral waies of ignominious puniſhments ſhe meets with, thoſe advantageous repreſentations made to her of that which is good and laudable, thoſe many and earneſt invitations and allurements of her to embrace it, with all other methods of a good and prudent inſtitution. That ſhe comes pure and undefiled out of the hands of her Creator all grant; and be this pureneſs what it will, whether with or without thoſe *Natural notions* of what is *good* and *honeſt*, the buſineſs will be much-what the ſame as to our preſent purpoſe. For if the latter way be the Truth, even this negative purity will leave her in an Indifferencie to vertue or vice; and therefore if her firſt precepts and earlieſt inculcations be good and vertuous, ſhe would be formed unto vertue: which yet we ſee is ſo farre from happening to ſome (though the very ſame inſtruction to others proves ſucceſsful) that

they on the contrary impatient of every curb and rein, and deaf to all calls and charms, run headlong into all iniquity. If the former way be true, it would be ſtill more wonderful how her firſt-appearing inclinations ſhould ſo eagerly carry her to that which is vicious, contrary to the poſitive Reſtraint of her inward light. But if they ſay (as they generally do) that the Soul her ſelf is pure and immaculate, but that ſhe contracts this unreclaimable proclivity to vice from the Body ſhe is put into, beſide the ignorance they diſcover by ſo ſaying in the ſpeculation of things, in joyning ſuch ill-agreeing mates together into one vital compoſition where *Sympathy* and congruity is the only *vinculum*, the *Father* asks them how it is conſiſtent with the *goodneſs* and *righteouſneſs* of God, the bleſſed Spring of all vertue and holineſs, and tender lover of all his creatures, to put ſuch innocent Souls into ſuch foul and untamed *Bodies*, which ſo fatally and neceſſarily hurry them to that which alone of all things in the world he diſapproves of, and which he knows will be their utter bane and miſerable ruine. And therefore upon the whole of this *ſecond* part of his Argument from *Providence* he concludes, that ſince ſo great a part of our pitiable bondage to vice and paſſion in the judgement of all ſides proceeds from theſe Bodies of ours, if the Soul was merely paſſive in being born into this world, and *was* not before ſhe was born here, much of the calamity ſhe ſuffers from vice, for which ſhe muſt ſuffer more hereafter, muſt in his judgement be caſt upon God; which he thinks is impious to affirm, and utterly contradictious to his holy Attributes.

A *third* Argument of his I finde in St. *Jerome*, from the misbecomingneſs of the contrary poſition, which makes the bleſſed *Majeſty* of heaven and earth diligently wait upon the unclean embraces of lawleſs perſons, even to the degenerate vileneſs of *Inceſt* and *Buggery* with beaſts, and by a ſpecial act of Providence carefully to perfect their impure rudiments of life. Which monſtrous *indecorum* though courſer ſpirits are not ſenſible of, and think they have anſwered the argument by thoſe mean compariſons of the Sun's ſhining upon dunghills as well as flowery meads, and ſtolen ſeed's growing as well as that which the ſower came juſtly by; yet it was exceedingly harſh to the more delicate ſenſe of *Origen*'s minde, and not to be put off by ſuch ſlight and ill-fitting ſimilitudes. 'Tis a ſhrewd ſign that Soul is much diſcompoſed in her *Harmonical* nature, who hath ſo farre loſt her ſenſe of proportionateneſs and congruity, as either not to think this is a very humble office to the Supreme *Deity*; or if it be ſo, not to feel in her ſelf a great reluctance to the making God ſo particular an Executer of it. If they imagin'd all things were made and ordered by ſuch ſetled laws of Nature as might in ſome ſenſe be called neceſſary, this *indecorum* would be more tolerable; but to make God work all things in an expreſs and voluntary way, and with his own hands, as it were, and yet to fancy ſo ſpecial an interpoſal of his will and power in ſo abhorr'd an occaſion, is to be very bold with the Sovereign *Majeſty* on high, and to make him doe that which they themſelves, were it in their power, would be aſhamed to doe. And what contrariety would it be to

any of the divine Attributes, or what loſs to the world, if God did not appear in ſuch unlawful inchoations of life, but let them come to nought in the end as they were without his approbation begun? But the true judgment of this Argument, as I intimated above, is the inward *touch* of a man's minde; which in you I know to be ſo comely and gracefull, that at the firſt propoſall you felt the force of it, and need not that I further inlarge upon it.

4. Though Scripture nowhere particularly and plainly teaches us when the Soul was *firſt* produced and came into Being, yet there are ſome paſſages in it which favour her *præexſiſtence*. *I have glorified thee on earth, I have finiſhed the work thou gaveſt me to doe. And now, O Father, glorifie thou me with thine own ſelf, with that glory I had with thee before the world was.* In which *text* theſe two things are plainly enough intimated, the exſiſtence of the *Subject* of this glory prayed for before the world was, and an interciſion of this glory for a while and recuperation of it again; the former whereof though it be true of the divine λόγος, yet the latter is incompetible to him. And the event plainly ſhews the *ſubject* of this glory: for he that humbled himſelf to the death of the Croſs, was exalted by God to be the Sovereign *prince* of men and Angels; and he that was made in the likeneſs of man or ſinful Fleſh in a *vile body*, was inveſted with power to change our vile bodies into the ſimilitude of his *glorious* body. *I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and goe to the Father. His diſciples ſaid unto him, Lo, now*

ſpeakeſt

ſpeakeſt thou plainly, and ſpeakeſt no parable. For the opinion of *Praexſiſtence*, but in a ſpecial manner of the Soul of the *Meſsiah*, was the common doctrine of their Nation; and that *key* eaſily unlock'd our Saviour's meaning. *Let this minde be in you which was in Chriſt Jeſus, who being in the form of God did not*, like Lucifer, *think equality with God a prey or ſpoil* to be invaded by him, in that ſenſe that *Cicero* ſaies of *Verres*, lib. 5. *omnium bona praedam ſuam duxit*; but was ſo farre from aſſuming that which was not his own, that on the contrary he made himſelf leſs then indeed he was, *and emptied himſelf by taking the form of a ſervant*, which conſiſted in his *being made in the likeneſs of man*, or of one of the Sons of Adam; *and being found in faſhion as a man, he humbled himſelf yet further, becoming obedient even to death.* If this place be to be underſtood of the *humanity* of Chriſt, nothing can be more plain then that his Soul *praexſiſted:* for otherwiſe to be born though but in the likeneſs of a *terreſtrial* man, would have been a gain to him, not a diminution; ſince there is no good at all in *not being*, ſave to thoſe who are extremely miſerable. And that it is ſo to be underſtood will be very probable if we but take notice of the importance of the *phraſes* here uſed, and compare them with others in holy Scripture. Ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, is as much as if he had ſaid, θεόμορφος, or, after the more *Attick* purity, θεοειδὴς, or θεοείκελος ὤν, or ὑπάρχων· even as St. *Mark*, in the ſtory of the woman which had the Iſſue of blood, ſaies after the *Jewiſh* way, ἓν ὀ ῥύσει αἵματος, but St. *Matthew* more elegantly αἱμορροοῦσα. St. *John*, after the *Seventy*, διδα-

κλοὶ Θεῦ, but St. *Paul* Θεοδίδακτοι · a very usual *Hebraiſme* in theſe holy Writers. The thing ſignified by the *phraſe* in hand is Chriſt's *Angelick* purity both in *body* and *Spirit*. This is that *image of God* according to which we were all at firſt made, and which Chriſt had not loſt as the reſt of his degenerate brethren had; and this is the *divine nature* we ſhall again be made partakers of when we ſhall have eſcaped the *corruption* that is in this world: for the Sons of the Reſurrection are truely the Sons of God and like unto God. But though the *humanity* of Chriſt was ſo truely *deiform*, yet he emptied himſelf of this fulneſs of life and glory by taking the form of a ſervant, μορφὴν δούλου. What this means the *Apoſtle* tells us in another place, *The creature*, i. e. man in the Jewiſh language, *ſhall be manumitted from the ſervitude of corruption*, and aſſerted *into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God*, i. e. Angels, or Angelick Souls, *by the redemption of his body*. So that μορφὴ δούλου is a mortal corruptible *body*, which the Soul of Chriſt voluntarily took upon her, by which he became like unto us mortal men, as he immediately addes, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων · which he otherwhere calls ὁμοίωμα σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας, and σκέυος τοῦ χοϊκοῦ. And being by this his *Servile Scheme* made lower then the Angels, he was put in a capacity of being obedient even unto death, and of taſting death for every man; and was thereby made perfectly like unto his brethren, partaking of *fleſh and blood* as they did, that he might by *death* deſtroy him who had the power of death, as the *Apoſtle* to the *Hebrews* ſpeaks. For without this exinanition of himſelf and deſcent from his *aetherea* or Angelical

Angelical condition it was not poſſible for him to *dy*. I might further adde for the juſtifying of this interpretation, that it is not conceivable how the *eternal* λόγ☉, who is what he is by an unchangeable and undiminiſhable neceſſity of Nature, can be ſaid *to empty* himſelf: eſpecially ſince the ſeveral parts and degrees of the *humiliation* here deſcribed are ſpoken of the ſame perſon; but certainly he that is *Life it ſelf* cannot be ſaid to *dye*, or become obedient to the death of the Croſs. Neither is it proper nor uſual in Scripture to propound the Deity to us as an example of humility; though nothing is ſo frequent there nor more congruous then to exhort us to be cõformable to him in love, goodneſs and purity. I ſhall ſay no more upon this place but this, that if *being in the form of God* be to be expounded of the Soul of Chriſt as in *phyſical union* with the *divine* λόγ☉, yet ſtill our argument for the *præexſiſtence* of his Soul will be every whit as good; as is plain at firſt ſight. I have been ſomething long upon this *Text*, but will make amends for it in onely pointing to the reſt which countenance this Opinion of *præexſiſtence*, as all thoſe many Texts moſt naturally do which ſay Chriſt *came down from Heaven*. For every other interpretation of this phraſe *coming down from heaven*, will either be *Socinian* as to the *Notion*, and a mere violence as to the *words*, or elſe will make the λόγ☉ alone to be the *Chriſt*, and him that *fills all things* to quit a place.

And certainly ſomething in favour of this Opinion may be made of that queſtion of the Diſciples to our Saviour concerning the man that was born blind; for either he approved of the common opinion as true,

or at leaſt thought it very harmleſs if falſe, ſince having ſo fair an occaſion of rectifying the common belief, he yet ſaid nothing againſt it. I know indeed that the *Silence* of Scripture and the Arguments from thence, which they call *Negative*, are eſteemed of little force in diſputation unleſs in ſome certain caſes. But he that ſhall ſeriouſly conſider how great a change does neceſſarily follow in the whole Frame of Chriſtian Religion from the beginning to the end of it, by the taking in or leaving out this opinion of *praexſiſtence*, may poſſibly be induced to think that our Saviour's ſaying nothing in ſo apt an occaſion is one of thoſe Caſes wherein *Silence* is almoſt as argumentative as a poſitive Approbation.

Parables likewiſe will not be taken for Arguments: which is no ill *Rule* if underſtood of the minute circumſtances of them, and of ſuch parts as the *decorum* of an *Apologue* requires; but certainly the *whole* will argue as well as inſtruct. But I lay no ſtreſs upon them, becauſe they may have other true and ſober interpretations; yet I thought good to caſt them in for variety ſake, that you may ſee how congruouſly they may be applied to the doctrine we are upon. The Prodigal Son's leaving his Father you know is deſcribed by his *going into a far Countrey*, and there waſting his ſubſtance with riotous living; and in his return his Father ſays of him, This my Son *was dead*, but is *alive again*, was loſt, but is found. *The Son of man is come* [from Heaven] *to ſave that which was loſt. If a man have an hundred ſheep, and one of them go aſtray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine, and goeth into the mountains, and ſeeketh that which is gone aſtray?*

aſtray? For ye were as ſheep going aſtray, but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Biſhop of your Souls. I am the good Shepherd, not an hireling whoſe own *the ſheep are not.* You may conſider theſe places alſo, though they do not all belong to this head of *Parables: I am not ſent, but εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα--- and not for that nation onely, but that he ſhould gather together in one τὰ τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ διεσκορπισμένα --- and having made peace by the blood of his croſs, by him to reconcile all things unto himſelf, whether things* in heaven, *or things* in earth. *Dearly beloved brethren, I beſeech you as* ſtrangers *and* pilgrims *abſtain from fleſhly luſts which war againſt the ſoul —— and confeſſed that they were* ſtrangers *and* pilgrims upon earth.

Laſtly, the Hiſtory of the Creation *cabbaliſtically* interpreted confirms the truth of *Origen*'s opinion. And that the word may not fright you, nor you think I mean by it *fanciſully* and *extravagantly*, I will more particularly tell you my meaning, which is this, So interpreted as becomes the Majeſty of that *Spirit* which dictated it, the profound wiſdome and ſcience of *Moſes* who wrote it, the Natures of thoſe things whoſe production is there delivered, laſtly, ſo as may anſwer that form of delivery which it manifeſtly pretends to. For do but read it over, and then tell me whether it does not plainly aim at a philoſophical Method of completely teaching us the Natures and Order of God's univerſal Creation: and then apply the *literal ſenſe* to this deſigne, and ſee whether that *alone* does not infinitely fall ſhort of it. Therefore neceſſarily ſome higher *ſenſe* muſt alſo be added: which if it be ſo managed as to contain nothing but

what is *great* and *true*, answering the *title* of the Sacred Story, and *continuedly applicable* to the *letter*; I should not be very difficult to grant that this is the very thing intended by the *holy Spirit* and his Pen-man *Moses*. And that this hath been so done with all these conditions observed, and that the *præexsistence of Souls* is found amongst the other noble doctrines of that great *Physiologer Moses*, I referre you for satisfaction to the most judicious and ingenious *Essay* of the learned Gentleman above-named. This may serve to let you see that the *Father* had very probable reasons for his *second* Opinion.

His *Third* is this, That these *præexsisting Souls* through their Fault and negligence became inhabitants of the Earth in *terrestrial* bodies.

Which Opinion he grounds upon these considerations.

1 That that infinitely full *goodness*, the first blessed *Spring* and *original* of all things, communicated of himself in their production to all possible varieties and degrees of life, which his *essential* and *eternally assistent wisdome* judged best for the things produced, and most fitting and decorous in it self, so as they might neither incommodate one another, nor yet be unhandsomely crowded together without due distance and discrimination of their Natures. In which long chain of life and Being propagated from the highest to the lowest of all, from the most *incorporeal* Deity to *Matter* it self, 'tis not to be wondered at, nay, 'tis necessary, that many of the *intermediate* Essences should partake of both the *extremes*, and so there be brought into light *Spirits incorporate*. But since

ſince few Spirits after the *Firſt* and *Beſt* are of immutable purity, and ſince every different degree of their changeable purity is proportion'd to a correſpondent degree of purity in matter, and ſince matter is actually exſiſtent in the world according to all degrees of purity, 'tis not to be wondered at neither that the ſame individual Spirit or ſame order of Spirits ſhould be ſometimes united with one ſort of matter ſometimes with another. But whatever happened to them afterwards through the mutability of their Nature, we may be aſſured from that *infinite Goodneſs* which produced them, that they were at firſt joyned to the pureſt matter, and placed in the beſt Regions of the world that the higheſt life and purity of Eſſence they then had made them then fit for. The *Souls* of men are *one* Order of theſe *eſſentially-incorporate Spirits*, as both their deep immerſion into *terreſtrial* matter, the modification of all their operations by it, and the *heavenly body* promiſed us in the Goſpel as the higheſt perfection of our recovered Nature, do ſufficiently argue. And therefore if our Souls did exſiſt before they appeared inhabitants of the Earth, the ſediment of the corporeal world, they did exſiſt in a purer element, to which an higher degree of life and purer operations, and conſequently greater happineſs, did belong. Who then ſhould turn them out of that better condition in which the order and courſe of Nature and the internal congruity of their own Eſſence had placed them? Certainly not *he* whoſe overflowing goodneſs firſt brought them into Life and Being, and who no doubt in the firſt moment of their exſiſtence ſet them to exerciſe thoſe powers of

life he had given them, in thoſe parts of the world as were moſt advantageous for the happineſs they were capable of. And though they ſhould through the lapſability of their nature fall from this eminent pitch of primitive felicity to a ſtate leſs happy and perfect: yet this ſtate being not the loweſt and worſt of all, and that ſame *goodneſs* which firſt made them and alwaies governs them being undiminiſhable, it is almoſt as harſh to think he would precipitate them from this ſomething better condition into that which is the moſt miſerable of all, as that he did originally create them in ſuch a condition as was farre worſe then what he then judg'd them capable of. And to think that any other external cauſe could doe it by force and violence is very unphiloſophical, ſince there is an inward maturation of *vital congruity* to be firſt wrought before they be ſo much as capable of uniting with this or that element, much leſs of living in it as a ſeat and habitation of a durable life: beſides it ſeems inconſiſtent with that moſt wiſe and gracious *Providence* which governs the world, that any thing ſhould have a power of diſpoſing of any Being in it παρὰ τ ἀξιαν. What then remains but that through the faulty and negligent uſe of themſelves, whileſt they were in ſome better condition of life, they rendred themſelves leſs pure in the whole extent of their powers both *intellectual* and *animal*, and ſo by degrees became diſpoſed for the ſuſception of ſuch a degree of corporeal life as was leſs pure indeed then the former, but exactly anſwerable to their preſent diſpoſition of ſpirit; ſo that after certain periods of time they might become farre leſs fit to actuate any ſort of matter then the

terre-

terreſtrial; and being originally made with a capacity to joyn with this too, and in it exerciſe the powers and functions of life, it ſeems neceſſary according to the courſe of nature that they ſhould ſink into it, and ſo appear *terreſtrial men?* And that this is a very probable cauſe of their becoming inhabitants of the earth, the *learned Father* thinks cannot be doubted, if we conſider the neceſſary mutability in created Eſſences, the *fredome of will* in humane Souls, and the great ſympathy there is betwixt the *parts* of the Soul, (for he, according to the *Platonick* doctrine, thinks the Soul *heterogeneous*, and nothing is more eaſy then to prove ſhe is ſo.) For as he often inculcates, Goodneſs and Truth are not Eſſential or *Subſtantial* in theſe inferiour Natures, ſo as that they ſhould be in a perpetual contemplation of them, and under that moſt happy conſtraint of never loſing the ſight of their glorious formes and of never ſwerving from their laws; but do in a more accidental way belong unto them, and are efficacious in them onely upon certain terms and conditions. From which imperfection of their Nature ariſes the ἀυτεξούσιον (for this in ſome ſenſe is no perfection) and by the too great liberty of that power it eaſily happens that they obſerve not thoſe terms and conditions, being drawn away from a preſs and careful attendance to them by converting to the delightful motions of their *congenite* bodies: which delight is both natural and in ſome degrees allowed; but all corporeal pleaſure having ſomething of confuſion and diſturbance in it, together with a ſtrong *magical* devocation of the animadverſion to the ſenſe of it, they

might in this dark huddle easily lose the sight of those bounds and limits beyond which they ought not to proceed in the enjoyment of those pleasures they reap from corporeal life. For it is very hard for the Soul under the present actual Fruition of what is delightful to her, and meeting with nothing in this her freer indulgency which by its sharpness may check her, not to be tempted a little and a little further, she feeling a freedome in her accompanying this her secret desire and inward presages all along. This unwarrantable liberty is not at first so free while the principle of the more divine and intellectual life is more intire: but this by little and little is weakned by those permissions we make unto our selves in favour of our natural propensions to corporeal Joy; and so the superiour life extinguishing by degrees, and the inferiour more eagerly kindling, we rush at last without bounds and measure to take our fill of those pleasures which the lawless motions of the body we are then united with offer to our corrupted sense. But whatever aberrations we make from the laws of intellectual life, the ill effect of them is not confined to that chief and *principal part* of our Soul wherein that *life* is seated, but descends from thence and spreads its impure contagion through all the *Seats* of inferiour life, by reason of that close continuity which is in all the parts of the Soul. And whatever happens to her principal part as the *Centre* of all the rest, does in a correspondent manner affect these which *ray* from that: for as *these* in their first *emanation* were determinately such or such onely, because *that* from whom they proceeded was of such or such a degree of purity and essential

power;

power; ſo in all the after-mutations which happen they conſtantly *ſympathize* with one another. For if the *inferiour parts* of the Soul deſtin'd unto her meaner functions do ſo punctually obey the moſt ſtill and ſilent volition or imagination of that which is *ſupreme*, as we plainly finde they doe in paſſions and ſpontaneous motion, what wonder is it if the preſent frame, habit and temper of that *ſupreme part* (which is certainly more powerful then a ſingle tranſient command) does mould and form them into a ſuitable temper with it ſelf? And therefore if that *centrall* part by forſaking the laws of a better life become ſo impure, that her operations in this degenerate condition would not exceed thoſe which may be exſpected from an *Underſtanding* in conjunction with *earthly* matter; the parts *derivative* will neceſſarily be changed into a correſpondent feculency, and ſo the whole Soul will ſink into *terreſtrial* matter, for which alone it is now fit, and by her *ſeminal reaſons* proper to this ſtate ſhape it into the fabrick of a *terreſtrial man*.

2. And the *Father* further thinks we ought not to wonder at any thing in this procedure, if we do but read and underſtand what the holy Scripture teaches us of the ſinning Angels, That they kept not their primitive excellency, but left their proper habitations in the regions of heavenly light, and are therefore bound εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας with the chains of fuliginous Aire. For what greater wonder is it that *aereal Genii* become *terreſtrial men*, then *aethereal* Angels *aereal daemons?* But this parity of reaſon is not all the aſſiſtance which *Origen* conceived the Scripture afforded him in this Aſſertion. For the Sacred Story

of *man* in *Geneſis* plainly deſcribes a tranſgreſſion for which he was turn'd out of *Paradiſe*, and became mortal, as the Text ſays. Which Hiſtory S. *Paul* carries further in his *Epiſtle* to the *Romans*, and ſaies, that *as by one man ſin entred into the world, and by ſin death and mortality; ſo alſo did this death and mortality go through all men, becauſe* or *ſo farre as all have ſinned*; or in his own words more elegantly, ὥσπερ δι' ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος· καὶ οὕτως εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ θάνατος διῆλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον. And again to the *Corinth. As by man death* ——and, *As in Adam all die* --- By which places it appears that *Adam* ſinned, and as a conſequent thereof became *mortal*; his ſons alſo ſinned, and mortality pervaded them too. Now who this *mortal Adam* is whoſe image all that bear are likewiſe mortal, the *Apoſtle* tells us in the ſame Chapter, to wit, ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἐκ γῆς, χοϊκός. Therefore we all become χοϊκοὶ or *terreſtrial* men by ſin. But ſince we are ſuch from our firſt coming into this world, and the fault muſt needs be before the conſequents of it, that ſin and tranſgreſſion by which we became ſuch muſt be look'd for higher or in ſome former ſtate. I know this concluſion would not be thought by many men rightly deduc'd from theſe places of Scripture: but this ought to be no prejudice againſt it, if you but remember that the gainſaiers are of two ſorts of *Divines*; the one thoſe who deny this *Original* and general depravation of mankinde, the other thoſe who aſcribe all to the will and Sovereignty, or miſtaken juſtice of God upon occaſion of the perſonal miſcarriage of the *firſt man* that dwelt upon this Earth.

Earth. The firſt of theſe do manifeſt violence (in my apprehenſion) to Scripture, and contradict experience: the latter groſsly pervert the nature of things, and rudely diſhonour the divine Attributes; as might with much eaſe be ſhewn, if I thought it neceſſary to your ſagacious judgment.

But leſt I ſhould expoſe this *doctrine* of the *holy Father* we have been debating to a ſuſpicion of greater inconcinnity then as he himſelf aſſerted it, I am to give you notice (if I have not already ſufficiently done it) that this paſſing of the Soul through ſeveral ſtates of life and different elements is neither performed in a *ſhort time*, nor ever deſcends ſo low as to deſtroy her *rational* nature, or put off *humane* form; both theſe are expreſsly denied by him. What the length of her better ſtates of life is he onely can truly judge who knows the internal frame and conſtitution of our Nature, and how *vital* every congruity of life is which he implanted in the Soul, or he who is a preſent inhabitant in that *ſtate* of which the queſtion is asked. But for us *terreſtrial animals*, ſo perfect an oblivion hath ſeiſed on us through the great change we underwent in our deſcent hither where we now are, (that I may name no other reaſon) that we are utterly diſabled to make any certain Anſwer to ſo curious an Enquiry. Onely upon that *hypotheſis*, that to every remarkable difference of purity in the Eſſence of created Spirits there is a difference in matter exactly anſwering and fitted thereto, and by how much more pure they are, by ſo much more durable is their life, as approaching nearer to and more fully partaking of the firſt and pureſt fountain of life; upon this *hypotheſis*, I

ſay, we may probably gueſs that the ordinary duration of *aereal* life does as farre exceed the common limits of the *terreſtrial*, as the ſubtilty and tenuity of that element does the courſneſs of that matter which the Soul does *eſpecially* actuate in our terreſtrial bodies; and the *aereal period* falls as farre ſhort of the *celeſtial*, as the blended *Atmoſphere* of the pure lucid *Æther*. But theſe are mere gueſſes, and let them go with you for no more. This onely we know, what the life of man upon earth commonly is in this Age of the world, and to what length it was drawn out in the daies of old, when all the Elements were in their Spring and wholeſome verdure, and before the fiery principle was grown ſo potent and copious as now it is; and the Goſpel aſſures us that the daies of the heavenly or *æthereal* life are ſo numberleſs that it is called *eternal*. The other part of my advertiſement was, that the Soul never deſcends below her rational Nature and humane form. Which I therefore take notice of, becauſe I perceive the adverſaries of *Origen* have been ſomething forward to draw this into the heap of their criminations, that he did hold the contrary. But the *Father* was not ſo ſlight a contemplatour as to believe the truth of it; and knew better what was the meaning of the Fable in the *Pythagorick* doctrine, and could not but have obſerved after what manner *Plato* talks of it in the Cloſe of his *Timæus*: who though he do not (as far as I remember) call it a Fable, yet it is plain he handles it ſo careleſly compared with the other parts of the *Dialogue*, that there is little doubt to be made but that he held it for one in the literal ſenſe. Which

will

will be more probable if you obſerve that he in that excellent *Dialogue* does punctually follow the method and opinions of *Timæus Locrenſis* in his *De anima mundi*, who does expreſsly call it *Fabulous*. Beſide, the *learned Father*, where he does mention it, diſtertly affirms that it is not an Opinion which he believes, but was propounded by him onely for the *Copia* and variety of diſputation. And that he may not ſeem to have ſaid this in a colour and cautiouſly for his own ſecurity, as St. *Jerome* very charitably would have him, he does in ſeveral places upon St. *Matthew*, and in his *contra Celſum*, dogmatically declare that there is no ſuch μετενσωμάτωσις.

His *Fourth Dogma* is, That the myſtery of the *Reſurrection* is this, That we ſhall be cloathed with heavenly or *athereal* bodies properly ſo call'd and in a *phyſical* ſenſe.

What is the truth in this Opinion muſt be learn'd from the Faith and doctrine of the Goſpel whereof it is ſo eminent an Article, the great βεβαίωσις of our holy faith and obedience; and the whole Evangelical myſtery ſo far as it reſpects our good and advantage is for the recovery of mankinde to this high pitch of felicity: and the *pious Father* does moſt willingly reſolve his belief in this Opinion into the ſentence of thoſe infallible writings. But that you may have a more orderly and demonſtrative underſtanding of what they teach us in this matter, you are to recall to your memory ſomething of what I have before diſcourſed out of the *Father*, that ſo you may with one view ſee how coherent his ſpeculations are, and how much they confirm and are confirmed by the

doctrine of the Gospel. We have out of him affirmed That the Souls of men are spirits *essentially incorporate*; That such spirits depend much in all their operations on that body they are united with; That the Elements of our *terrestrial* composition are such as almost fatally intangle us in vice, passion and misery; That these Souls did exsist and act (for to what purpose else did they exsist?) before they became visible inhabitants of the earth; That therefore they then had at least *aereal* bodies; That the purer the body is the Soul is united with, the purer, more perfect and happy is her life and operations; besides, that supreme goodness which made all things assures us that he made all things best at first. And therefore his recovery of us to our last happiness (which is the design and purpose of the Gospel) must restore us to our better bodies and more happy habitation. In the declaration of which recovery if it be found that he promises us *celestial* bodies, 'twill be both according to what our reason would exspect in so gracious a designe, and does also not obscurely intimate that *earth* was not the first element wherein we did exsist. Upon these *principles* the *Father* establishes the present *dogma*, some whereof we have already largely endeavored to prove; the rest are plain of themselves, and confess'd by all, or you know where to have the accurate proofs of them if you think they can be doubted of: and therefore I shall leave you to make the best of them for the advantage of the *Father*'s present *Assertion*, betaking my self to see what Scripture saies in the business, after I have taken two arguments in my way, which I shall offer to your consider-

conſideration in a more careleſs and popular manner.

1. He that is a Chriſtian and Diſciple of the Son of God hath given up himſelf to the obſervation of ſuch Laws as require of him perfect Holineſs and Purity, univerſal abſtinence from all wrong and injuſtice, hearty and unfeigned love and good will to all mankinde; and all this in the inward affection of his mind, ſo as that they become his nature and the very life of his Spirit. He is by the tenour of that holy *Inſtitute* to mortifie every inordinate affection, to be dead to the ſenſe of bodily delights, not to be carried away with ſelf-conceit and the tickling aire of Fame and Honour from men, not to be tranſported with Anger, to have no eſteem of thoſe things the world ſo much admires and ſo eagerly purſues, Power and Wealth: but cut off from all things that are without, and perfectly commanding all the allowed motions and deſires of his Natural Spirit, he is ſolely to live the life of God with entire Subjection to his will. But do not all the world complain of the extreme difficulty of the task? that it is as cruel to their imagination when they think of it, and as painful to their ſenſe when they goe about it, as the violent diſciſſion of their very Life would be could it be forcibly torn in pieces? Not but their *minds* are very well ſatisfied of the reaſonableneſs and juſtneſs of ſuch an undertaking, and their moſt inward light cannot but pronounce that the poſſeſſion of that life they are called to by the counſels and exhortations of the Goſpel would be a ſtate of moſt deſireable felicity, ſo that if the *law* of their *mind* had a perfect ſovereignty over the whole man, the bu-

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sineſs was done. But alas! they are drawn away by the pleaſing force of the *magick* of the *fleſh*, and in deſpite of all the ſuccour which their Minde, Reaſon and Conſcience bring them, are willingly led captive by an enemy whom they love. This is the *law in the members*, whoſe very nature is *warring* and oppoſition to the *law of the minde:* it is alſo called the will, ſenſe, or *affection of the fleſh*, which hath ſuch an eſſential enmity to God and whatever is divine, that it can *by no means be made ſubject to his law*. For the *body of death* or the mortal body is, according to St. *Paul*, *ſinful fleſh in which dwells nothing that is good*, and the law of it is the *law of ſin and death*. And that *members*, *fleſh*, *body*, *death*, are to be taken plainly and literally, both St. *Paul*'s diſcourſe makes evident enough, and the experience and confeſſions of men confirme; who palpably feel that their tranſgreſſing the laws of God and the minde proceeds from the motions of the *earthly* body they are cloathed withal. Now theſe motions being as natural to it as *deſcent* is to heavy bodies, and as neceſſarily affecting us with the ſenſe of ſin as fire does with warmth and heat; it follows that our eſtabliſhment in a truely divine and ſinleſs life, which is the end of Chriſtian religion, cannot be effected but by our obtaining ſuch a body as is fartheſt removed from the Nature of our preſent *body of ſin*, that is, an heavenly or *æthereal* one.

2. You cannot but have obſerved even in thoſe who are Inſtructers of the people in knowledge and piety, men otherwiſe learned and of good capacity, a ſtrange fatal proneneſs to ſuch Opinions as are as plainly repugnant and contradictions to the moſt eaſy and natural

natural *Ideas* of our minde as any can be: which Opinions many of them are concerning ſuch ſubjects whoſe worth and excellency ſhould make us very careful what we think of them, and hugely tender that we pronounce nothing of them which is injurious or mean; as God, his Works, and Counſels, what is Holy, Righteous, Comely, Equitable, and the like: whoſe natures rightly known and according to Truth, bring the greateſt Eaſe and Satisfaction, ineffable peace and quiet, and the moſt pure and inraviſhing delight that our mindes can receive from any knowledge whatever, and govern all the purpoſes and enterprizes of our Soul, all the actions of our lives conſiſtently, quicken and incourage us to all growth and progreſs in vertue and whatever is good and laudable, and with unſhaken firmitude ſupport our hope, that our labours ſhall not be in vain, laſtly, which are alſo with abundant clearneſs defined in thoſe holy Oracles which we all believe infallible. Whence is it then that all that light which ſhould direct us to the truth of ſuch objects is not ſeen? that we are ſo eaſily content to want all that pleaſure and peace ariſing from the knowledge of their truth; and patiently endure to live, act, and expect at randome without any ſufficient grounds or coherency of reaſon? If the Souls of men were eſſentially unlike one another, or the *Ideas* of Truth were not every where the ſame, my wonder would quickly ceaſe: nay if theſe erring perſons were but affected with their odde conceits in that moderate degree of prejudice which Authority is apt to beget in us, where we reſpect the man who firſt delivered them to us, I could be con-

tent to look for the reaſon of this *phænomenon* in the modeſty and humble deference of the minde it ſelf: but when I ſee them believe ſuch groſs errours with ſuch eagerneſs of ſpirit, and with ſo ſettled an affection, and from a congruity and ſympathy of vital diſpoſition, I am at a loſs to finde the cauſe any where but in the complexional impurity of their *earthly* bodies; whoſe foul ſteams mixing with and infecting that ſubtile inſtrument the Soul uſes in all her ſenſes and perceptions, and by which all her operations are modified, condemn them fatally to ſuch groſs miſtakes and to an utter inſenſibility of the contrary Truths, ſo long as they are condemned to ſee nothing but through ſuch a courſe *medium*, and to labour for Truth with ſuch unqualified Inſtruments. And knowing that not onely vertue and piety but alſo Truth and knowledge are the natural accompliſhments of the Soul, I conclude according to the *Father*, that that complete perfection which by the warrant of the Goſpel we hope for in the *Reſurrection*, cannot be wrought in us unleſs we be poſſeſſed of ſuch a body whoſe purity of temper wil be as ſubſervient to Truth, as I finde the terreſtrial one an hindrance thereto.

3. I ſaid at the beginning of this *dogma*, that the Truth of it muſt be decided by the teſtimony of holy Scripture whereof it is ſo important a part, and that the *holy Father* is moſt ready to be concluded by its deciſion; therefore in the third place he argues from thence. You know St. *Paul* in his firſt *Epiſt.* to the *Corinthians* hath a diſcourſe on purpoſe concerning the *Reſurrection*; from thence therefore, if any where, we may very well hope to finde a determination

mination of the matter in hand. The *Apoſtle* in that moſt excellent and learned diſcourſe, having firſt proved the Reſurrection of our ever-bleſſed Lord and Saviour, comes at laſt to anſwer the Objections of ſome incredulous or miſinformed men in that *Church*, which he gives us in theſe words, *How are the dead raiſed up? and with what bodies do they come?* In which if there be any ſenſe or force to make it worthy of an Anſwer from the *Apoſtle*, it muſt be this or ſome ſuch like; How is it poſſible that thoſe bodies ſhould riſe again and be joyned to the Souls that formerly actuated them, which we ſee rotted in the grave, diſſolved into duſt, and ſcatter'd over the face of the earth, or evaporated into Aire and diſperſed as farre aſunder poſſibly as the heaven is wide, and undergoe ten thouſand ſeveral tranſmutations, and are adopted into as many ſeveral bodies, whether Animals or others? To which the *Apoſtle* anſwers, not by ſaying the Power of God is infinite and his Knowledge infinitely diſtinct, ſo as he can finde out and recollect all thoſe wandring *Atomes*, and of them recompoſe that building which once they made: but by calling *firſt* the Objecter *fool* for ſo groſsly miſtaking the queſtion, as if the Chriſtians exſpected the ſame *individual* body made of the ſame numerical particles of matter, which his objection ſuppoſes; whenas their doctrine of the *Reſurrection* is ſomewhat like that of a grain of Corn, which muſt firſt die before any thing ſpring of it, and that which does ſpring up from its death is another thing from that which was ſown and died. And then, *ſecondly*, by further informing him that the differences of body

and matter are farre more numerous then he takes notice of; ſo that it is ſo farre from being neceſſary that we ſhould have the ſame *individual* bodies, that there is no neceſſity we ſhould have bodies of the ſame ſort or *kinde*: for the world is better ſtored then ſo, and contains *celeſtial* bodies as well as *terreſtrial*, of different worth and excellency; and that God who gives us a body as it pleaſes him, is graciouſly pleaſed to give us one in the *Reſurrection* of that kind which is moſt excellent and glorious, *viz. heavenly* and *ſpiritual*: and that though we have born the *image of the earthly Adam*, having an earthly body as he had, yet it is not neceſſary we ſhall alwaies doe ſo; for there is an *heavenly Adam* too, the *Lord*, whoſe *image we ſhall bear*, having an *heavenly* and *ſpiritual body* as he hath. And leſt we ſhould miſtake what he meant by *earthly* and *heavenly*, *animal* and *ſpiritual bodies*, and transferre theſe words to diſpoſitions in the Soul, or uſe them improperly any other way to the countenancing any groſs or ſlow conceit, he gives us a key of his meaning by this plain and down-right affirmation, That *fleſh and blood* (a phraſe well known to ſignifie the *earthly body*, and for its ſake *a man in ſuch a body*) cannot come to Heaven, or *the Kingdome of God*; for it is impoſſible that ſuch a body, which is in its intrinſecal nature corruptible, ſhould become incorruptible, or be fit to *inherit incorruption*. And further you may poſſibly not think it a remark altogether impertinent, that if the *Apoſtle* had been of the minde of *Origen*'s adverſaries, it would be very hard to imagine why he ſhould give ſo long, ſo diſtinct and particular an Anſwer to the queſtion. For it may ſeem more ſuitable

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to the authority of ſo great a perſon, when captiouſly asked, *With what bodies do they come?* roundly to have anſwered, *With the ſame they left behind them.*

Another Argument out of the ſame *Apoſtle* may be that in his *ſecond Epiſt.* to the ſame *Corinth.* *For we know that if our earthly houſe of this tabernacle was diſſolved, we have a building from God, an houſe not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens. For in this we groan, earneſtly deſiring to be clothed upon with our houſe which is from heaven.* Where are plainly deſcribed two ſeveral *houſes* or bodies quite different one from the other in their *materials*, *duration*, and *benefit* to the inhabitant: the one is called *earthly*, and a *tabernacle* which ſhall be *diſſolved*, wherein we *groan* through the *burthenſomeneſs* of it; the other *heavenly*, and *eternal*, and hugely advantageous and *deſirable* to us: the former Characters deſigning the *body* we have here upon *earth*, the latter *that* which we exſpect hereafter in *Heaven*. So that unleſs any thing may be any thing, and the ſame thing while the ſame be quite another thing, it is not poſſible but that that body we look for in heaven, or at the Reſurrection, ſhould be a quite different thing from that body of *fleſh and blood* we are now clothed with, ſince it hath ſuch different properties. For unleſs the courſe concretion of *earth* as earth can be as liquid as *Æther* or heavenly matter, and that which is in its own nature *diſſoluble* be *eternal*, and be actually diſſolved onely to be ſet together again, or that we groan through the oppreſſion of that weight which we earneſtly deſire to be burthened with again, the body which we have here cannot (according to the *Apoſtle*) be that which we hope

hope to have hereafter. And all the properties of the former body will from its eſſential contexture neceſſarily adhere to it whereever it be, and the properties of the latter are the moſt genuine reſults of *æthereal* purity; ſo that if S. *Paul* by the *building* we are to have *from God*, by the *houſe not made with hands*, deſcribes that body God will give us in the Reſurrection of the juſt, he ſays the ſame with the *holy Father*, That the myſterie of that happy time and change is this, that we ſhall then be cloathed with heavenly or *æthereal* bodies.

This is ſufficient for the proof of this Aſſertion out of Scripture: yet if you pleaſe you may over and above make trial, whether any convenient ſenſe can be made of thoſe ſo very frequent phraſes of a *mortal* body, a *corruptible* body, a body of *death*, a *vile* body, an *inglorious* and *infirme* body, a *dead* body, the *fleſh of Sin*, and the like; if ſuch bodies may be incorruptible, immortal, eternally living, never to dy more, refulgent with lucid glory like the body of Chriſt, who is the *Adam* ἐνοῤῥάνιος in the ſame ſenſe that the other *Adam* was χοϊκὸς, and laſtly, be the inſtruments of perfect purity, righteouſneſs and holineſs. I perſwade my ſelf you wil finde it an hard task to reconcile ſuch diſcordant attributes. But to ſay that whatever the bodies we have upon earth be in their own nature, God by his omnipotent power can make them ſuch as the Goſpel promiſes they ſhall be at the Reſurrection, and keep them by his almighty hand from death or decay, is to ſay, that *miracles* are very cheap with him; nay further, it is to ſay, that God where he intends us a benefit, will work a perpetual miracle

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to keep us in a worſe ſtate then we might arrive to by the ordinary laws and courſe of Nature. For it is demonſtrable from Philoſophy and Apparitions that an *aereal* body will neceſſarily fall to our ſhare upon the quitting of *this* we have; and where the Soul is more then ordinarily advanced in the progreſs of an holy and vertuous life, that *aereal* body of hers will be in great diſpoſition to an *athereal* purity: ſo that if the *Providence* of God would not interpoſe her ſelf, but leave things in that ſtate they come to by her eternal laws, it would be much better for ſo perfect Souls to ſtay where they are, then to be again cloathed with *fleſh and blood*. For this is plainly to climb downwards, and with pretence of courteſie to remand the releaſed man to his priſon and chains. And it is very childiſh to think that *Fleſh and blood* made gay without by I know not what imagined *light* and *glory* is one pin the better for it; for if the houſe be ruinous in the materials and make of it, and ſluttiſh and unclean within, all the external painting and pargetting imaginable can neither ſecure the inhabitants from its fall, nor make their dwelling one jot more wholeſome. The *Moon* as bright as ſhe looks is as very an *Earth* as this we tread on, contemn, and deſire to leave. But as hard as you will finde it to make ſenſe of thoſe *Phraſes* above-named which characterize our *earthly* body, if this earthly body is to come to Heaven; juſt ſo eaſie and natural are the oppoſite expreſſions which deſcribe that *heavenly* body which ſhall certainly come thither. For both the duration of it, its refulgent glory, and its eximious ſubſerviency to all puritie, righteouſneſs and truth, do as

properly belong to a body of *æthereal* puritie, and this onely, as any naturall effect whatever to its true and ſpecifick cauſe, as a very little skill in Philoſophy would ſatisfie any enquirer. And what greater aſſurance can any man have that he underſtands any thing he reads, then evidently to ſee that the *words* are fit and appoſite, and the very ſame that all men uſe who write or ſpeak perſpicuouſly, and the *things* aſſerted ſuch as exactly anſwer to the Nature of things?

Having Scripture ſo plainly on *our* ſide (for ſo for *decorum* ſake I muſt ſpeak, playing the part of an *Origeniſt*) I think I may be bold to expoſtulate with the *adverſaries*, and ask them what it is they ſeek by their ſo eagerly-defended *Fleſhly body*, and what is the prop of their tenacious confidence? For 'tis plain that we are nothing and are concern'd in nothing more then what we are *conſcious of*, feel and perceive; That the Soul *alone* is the ſubject of all ſenſe, perception, memory, and affections; That what ſhe *perceives by* is neither the fleſh nor blood, no nor the brains themſelves, nor any other groſs part of our bodies, but that purer and ſubtiler matter in us which is called *Animal ſpirits*; That if the Soul be an immaterial ſubſtance diſtinct from the body, 'tis as eaſily conceived, nay more eaſily, how ſhe ſhould unite with an whole *vehicle* of ſuch pure matter as with her whole *terreſtrial* body; eſpecially ſhe giving us even in this body a *ſpecimen* of that capacity of hers, by being in her higheſt degree of vitality united with ſome portion of that matter already. What is it then that they exſpect from the moſt refined *fleſh and blood* they can imagine, which they may not have with uſury and advantage

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in a body of purer Conſiſtence? or what is the Scruple that makes them ſo backward in admitting ſuch a body? To the former queſtion I make no doubt they can anſwer nothing which will not be groſs and ridiculous. To the latter I know they will ſay that the Scripture ſaies otherwiſe: we ſhall ſee that more particularly at the *fifth Quære*. In the mean time conſider, O ye fond doters on fleſh and blood, what we have already produced out of that ſacred treaſury of Truth contrary to your dull pretenſions: and further call to minde, that as Scripture calls thoſe bodies we hope for in the Reſurrection of the juſt *celeſtial* and *ſpiritual*, and termes the place of our abode at that bleſſed time the kingdome of *heaven* and the inheritance in *light*; ſo Philoſophy and Aſtronomy can demonſtrate that the matter of that happy place is mere *light* & liquid *ſpirit* or *Æther*. Why then do you pretend miſinterpreted Scripture contrary to all reaſon, Philoſophy and your own benefit, againſt Scripture having Philoſophy and your advantage on its ſide? And ſince our preſent bodies by which we are inhabitants of the Earth are of a *terreſtrial* concretion, and conſiſt of ſuch matter which ariſes from the Earth, and which after all its *tranſmutations*, *elutriations*, and *filtrations* in the body, is not purged from the courſe tincture it had from its earthly original; and ſince the Scripture ſaies that Angels the inhabitants of heaven are ſpirits and a flame of fire, and are called Angels of light, as heaven it ſelf is light and fire, and appear alwaies in a lucid form, and that the *Devils* or *Dæmons* are the inhabitants of the Aire (whom the ſtories of apparitions and the con-

feſſions of Witches plainly prove to have bodies of Aire;) what croſneſs and madneſs is it to believe we ſhall be fellow-citizens of the Angels in the Kingdome of *heaven*, and have ſuch a body as the Apoſtle calls *heavenly* and *ſpiritual*, and yet to interpret that word *Heavenly* otherwiſe then in relation to the ſubtilty and tenuity of the matter of heaven? But to leave theſe φιλοσόφους, and let you further ſee that S. *Paul* did not onely ſit at the feet of *Gamaliel* (from whom Mr *Gregory* conceives he learn'd the Analogy between the germination of a grain of corn and the reſurrection of the body) but had alſo been admitted into the *Pythagorick* ὁμαχοεῖον, or rather that both he and the *divine Pythagoras* were taught by the ſame *Spirit of Truth* and holy knowledge, I will give you a taſte of that great congruity of phraſe there is in the delivery of their doctrine. And not to trouble you with many Authors of that way, I will content my ſelf with *Hierocles* in his commentary on the *Golden verſes*, as they are called. The body of fleſh we have here upon earth he with St. *Paul* calls θνητὸν and ψυχικὸν· that which the pure and perfected ſpirits in heaven have he with him calls πνευματικὸν, as alſo φωτοειδὲς and αὐγοειδὲς, which plainly anſwer to S. *Paul*'s Σῶμα τῆς δόξης· he likewiſe termes it ἀθάνατον, and ἀΐδιον, and αἰώνιον, which is exactly the ſame with St *Paul*'s *having put on immortality*, and *eternal*, and *heavenly*. He ſaies likewiſe that in order to our heavenly journey we muſt firſt τὸν τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος φύσιν ἀποδύσασθαι, and that the Σῶμα ψυχικὸν cannot aſcend εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πόντον. What is this but that *Fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdome of God?*

And

And again ——τοῦ θνητοῦ ἡμῶν σώματος, ἐν ᾧ δ' αὐγοειδὲς ἐγκείται προσπνέον τῷ ἀψύχῳ σώματι ζωήν· ζωὴ γάρ ἐστι δ' ἄϋλον σῶμα. Then which it is not possible to finde a better comment upon that of St. *Paul*, —— *Cloathed upon with our house which is from heaven, that mortality might be swallowed up of life.* Again, ——δ' θνητὸν ἡμῶν σῶμα ἐκ τῆς ἀγόγου ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ ὑλικοῦ σώματος συγκείμενον, εἴδωλον ὂν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὃς ἐκ λογικῆς οὐσίας καὶ σώματος ἀΰλου συνέστηκεν· St. *Paul's outward* and *inward man*, the *earthly* and the *heavenly Adam.* He saies also that the spiritual vehicle of the Soul being perfected and purged from all material *unvitalness* or mortality, and the lucid body being rendred pure and defæcate, we are then fit to be admitted into the company and converse of the pure spirits which have æthereal bodies, and are then arrived to the Angelick nature: which in the words of Scripture is, *But ye are come to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, to an innumerable company of Angels, and to the spirits of just men made perfect.* —— *They are equal to the Angels, and are the children of God* [θεοὶ in *Hierocl.*] *being the children of the resurrection.* —— *If by any means I might attain to* the resurrection of the dead. *Not as if I had already attained or was already* perfected. Lastly, that I draw the *parallelisme* no further, in this *Theory* of bodies he uses the words of ἐπεγείρειν and ἀναβιώσκεσθαι. I need not tell you, much less shew you, that he does not use such words *alone.* I shall trouble you with no more examples, these being sufficient and clear and apposite enough (chiefly some of the first of them which I

eſpecially intended) to ſhew you the agreement in ſtyle between S. *Paul* and *Hierocles*. Now the uſe I make of it is this. 'Tis notoriouſly known that the *Pythagorick* or *Platonick* doctrine concerning the different ſtates of Spirits incorporate is the ſame with *Origen*'s; and that the Words and Phraſes they uſe to expreſs the different nature of the body by they are cloathed with are as fit and proper (if their doctrine be true) as any that can be invented, is plain to every one that underſtands the uſe of words. Now that S. *Paul* ſhould uſe the ſame in the ſame matter and argument, yet not in the ſame ſenſe, but a quite different one, is the moſt unlikely thing in the world; and beſides renders all endeavours of finding his ſenſe and meaning utterly fruſtrate or deſperately uncertain. But if S. *Paul* uſed them in the ſame ſenſe with thoſe *Philoſophers*, then it is manifeſt that *Origen*'s doctrine of the *Reſurrection* is the ſame with S. *Paul*'s, and therefore infallibly true. There is a reverend *Doctor* of our Church of eximious Piety and Learning (and long may he live to be a Light in this perverſe generation, and the Envie of thoſe that are adverſaries and afflicters of our *dear Mother*) whom I have heard to be of opinion, that this *Hierocles* of whom we have been ſpeaking was a *Chriſtian*, and who intends to encreaſe the number of his learned and uſeful writings with a *diſſertation* to prove the ſame. If this report of him be true, I make no doubt but amongſt other Arguments which have perſwaded him to entertain this *Paradox*, the great agreement in Doctrine and Phraſe betwixt the holy Pen-men of Scripture and that Author is not the leaſt. But to the verifying

of

of my Conjecture, you muſt exſpect till that reported *Work* of his ſee the light

I come now to the *Father's Fifth* Opinion, which is this, That after long periods of time the *damned* ſhall be delivered from their torments, and try their fortunes again in ſuch Regions of the World as their Nature and preſent diſpoſition fits them for.

There are in ſome men's mindes wonderful high reaches at great and unuſual Objects: that diſpoſition of Soul whence ſuch extraordinary Offers proceed you may not unproperly call the *Magnificence* of the *Intellect*; which often hath ſomething of Temerity in it, as the *Moral* vertue of that name not ſeldome hath ſome touch of Ambition. But as we are very favourable to this, and apt to pardon its ſmaller extravagances for the ſake of thoſe high deſignes and eminent works to which they adhere: ſo by the ſame reaſon and juſtice ought that other to be candidly ſentenced by us when it ſeems to ſlip, becauſe of thoſe raiſed and concerning diſcoveries it makes where it lights right and happily; eſpecially where it ſeems to have been betrayed by a forward and pious endeavour of doing honour to God. Which is *Origen's* caſe here, of whom his greateſt adverſaries cannot in reaſon but confeſs, that the *Errour* they conceive him falne into in this opinion proceeded from his over-great ſolicitude of rendring the wayes of *Providence* clear, righteous and benigne. Yet this, as ſtrange as it looks, hath its probabilities too as well as the former. For he looked upon God as making all things for their good and benefit, with this gracious deſigne, that they might be happy according to their Place and

Order

Order in the infinite *Orb of Beings*. Some whereof would neceſſarily be ſo farre removed from the ſtability of his bleſſed and immutable Perfection, that he plainly foreſaw and wondred not at their future change and deſcent from their Original Integrity; which though it would not happen to them without their own fault, yet his moſt juſt and righteous Eyes could not but more favourably look upon the miſcarriage, ſince it proceeded ſomewhat from that *incompoßibility* which his own hands had wrought in their Eſſential Contexture, and from a too free and careleſs uſe of ſuch natural Powers and enjoyment of ſuch delights as he himſelf had made and permitted to them in due bounds and meaſures. For it ſeems true and not diſhonourable to God, that ſin it ſelf proceeds from no power of the ſinner's own making, neither is the pleaſure of it from any ſuitableneſs and congruity which he deviſed; for he findes them both made ready to his hand: onely he was ſo careleſs and unhappy as to tranſpoſe things from their due places, and make ſuch combinations of them as were to his own damage in the event, and ſuch as were not primarily intended by that moſt wiſe and benevolent *minde* which made and order'd all things to the beſt they were capable of. That *eternal minde* therefore making all things out of a Principle of infinite love, and for the good and happineſs of the things themſelves, and ſeeing what he had made and how he had made them, and what was likely to be the lot of ſome of them from the neceſſary unperfectneſs of their Natures, if their future ill hap was like to be infinitely more ſharp and dolorous then all the

good

good they ſhould enjoy from him till that calamity befel them grateful and pleaſant, his great compaſſion certainly would have perſwaded him quickly to annihilate them; or rather his Wiſdome would have judg'd it more decorous never to have made them. For aſſuredly he needed them not in any reſpect, leaſt of all as they were miſerable. But we ſee ſuch *mutable* Creatures made, and hear nothing of their *Annihilation* (as indeed it would be very ſtrange we ſhould; for this would be as much as to ſay, God had made ſuch *beings* as he could not continue in being with conſiſtency with his own Attributes: that I may not adde that poſſibly ſuch was the manner of the production of all things as makes *Annihilation* impoſſible) therefore we may be aſſured there are ſuch Reſerves in his moſt wiſe and gracious *Providence*, as will both vindicate his Sovereign Goodneſs and Wiſdome from all juſt diſparagement, and take ſuch courſe with and ſo diſpoſe of all his Creatures, as they ſhall never be but in ſuch a condition, which, all things conſider'd, will be farre more eligible then never to have been. Amongſt which wayes and diſpoſitions of *Providence* wherein his Wiſdome, Rectitude and Mercy all concurre, *Puniſhment* is not the leaſt, nor unprofitable to the puniſhed. And this ſharper kinde of favour hath a very juſt and righteous place in ſuch Creatures as are by nature mutable. For this natural mutability paſs'd not into an actual declination from their better principles of life without their *Fault*, and ſuffering a poſſibility of being worſe to prevail above an actual power of continuing better. And therefore *Providence* hath interwove in the Natures of things and all ſtates and

conditions of life such acerbities and incommodities as may give check to them when they are descending lower then they ought, and seasonably remind them of the better condition they have left. But if this gentler smart and uneasefulness will not reclaim them, but they for all that still further pursue forbidden and uncertain pleasures, and think them not dearly bought though mix'd with bitterness, yet we are not straight to conclude that *Providence* hath given them over either as utterly unfit for her Care and Discipline, or degenerated beyond her power of Cure and Emendation. For beside her ordinary and natural wayes of Nurture and Correction, she can and will, when it seems fit or necessary, with a severer hand scourge these Rebels to her gentler laws and contemners of her milder Rebukes. And such will be that *day* of *fiery vengeance*, when the inferiour elements of Nature shall melt with fervent heat, the earth and all the works thereon be burnt up, and the aire be filled with suffocating smoak which she shall send up from her inflamed Entrals. Into which farre-spreading Lake of slow-consuming fire and sulphureous stench the unreclamable Devils and obstinately-wicked men shall be by the righteous hand of God precipitated. A sad pitiable Fate and torture unsufferable! but no doubt as just as great. Just, I say, not onely according to the estimation of modern *Theology* (which from an excess of complement to the Justice of God becomes almost as rude and troublesome as the Ass in the Fable, who did not fawn upon, but invade his master, and which tragically pronounces that the least *peccadillo* highly deserves the greatest punishment conceiveable,) but

also

alſo in the compute and judgment of that all-righteous *minde* which judges and orders all things by the living law of Equity. But what though it be ſo great and juſt? is it therefore ſo quite different from the reaſon of all other puniſhments inflicted by God or man, that there is nothing in it of that *End* for which they are inflicted? They are *Curative* and for the Emendation of the party ſuffering; but this if it be *eternal* in the *Scholaſtick* ſenſe of the word leaves no place for the bettering of the ſufferers, who are never to get out of this inexplicable Labyrinth of woe and miſery. Or becauſe this exceeds all other puniſhments imaginable, muſt it alſo ſo infinitely tranſcend the very meaſures and proportions of this kinde of *diſtributive juſtice?* If not, why ſhould we think that the pain and ſmart of it ſhall be infinitely great and long, when the pleaſure reaped by the Tranſgreſſion which brought the puniſhment is not in any degree equal; and when a ſhorter torture may make the puniſhed change their minde, or leave it very probable they would doe ſo were they out of their torture and in an opportunity to ſhew it? And to imagine that God ſuffers any real injury and detriment from the tranſgreſſions of a peccable Creature, which muſt (ſay they) be infinite, becauſe he is ſo, and therefore deſerve a puniſhment in all reſpects infinite, is to talk of God very meanly and too much after the manner of men; and to ſet ſuch a Rule for the meaſuring the demerit of a fault by as will make all ſins equal, and which they themſelves confeſs will not univerſally hold good towards any perſon beſide God, and therefore may be juſtly ſuſpected to be a falſe one. Now to think theſe miſe-

rable ſouls are ſo farre amiſs as to be beyond the power of all redreſs and reſtitution, is to ſuppoſe God made ſome of his Creatures very untowardly; and that when he pronounced they were all *very good*, he looked onely upon the primitive ſtate they were in when they came freſh out of his gracious hands, and was ſo taken with that that he omitted to caſt his all-comprehenſive Eyes to all poſſible conditions they might afterward fall into. For certainly if he had done ſo, & ſeen this never-to-be-ended doom of intolerable pain and anguiſh of body and minde, the infinite compaſſionateneſs of his bleſſed Nature would ſcarcely have given ſo chearful an approbation to the works of his hands. For none of them are *good* to him as advantaging him ought; and thoſe of them he foreſaw would be ſo remedileſly calamitous as this *hypotheſis* ſuppoſes, would have been ſo farre from being *good* as to themſelves, that it would have been the greateſt favour God could doe them never to have brought them into *being*. But then to think they are not beyond the power of redreſs and recovery, and that that great puniſhment they ſhall undergoe in the end of this World may contribute much thereto, and yet to imagine they ſhall for all this their better diſpoſition be ſtill kept in it for ever and ever, is to fix ſo harſh a Note upon the mercy and equity of the righteous Judge of all the world, that the ſame temper in a man we ſhould for ever exſecrate and abominate. And that they are in a poſſibility of being better, if God ſo pleaſe and do not purpoſely hinder it, is not improbably concluded by the *Father* from hence, That ſin wherein they are ſo obdurately ſetled, though it hath extin-

extinguiſhed or ſilenced the *divine life* in them, and for the preſent ſubjected them onely to the ſenſe, reliſh and exerciſe of the natural or *animal*, yet it hath left them their Reaſon and Underſtanding, ſuch as it is, Conſideration and Memory, which like mercenary Souldiers will fight on either ſide, and incline to and ſerve that *life* which is moſt powerful: If therefore the vigorous alliciency of the brutiſh Nature be abated, thoſe *powers* will liſten to better counſels, and reſume the ſeeds and inchoation of a better life and Nature. And certainly a ſearching ceaſleſs pain ſpreading through Soul and body will ſo abate and conſume all that Joy they formerly took in their brutiſh rebellion, that any offer of releaſe will be welcome to them now the tumult and hurry of their former luſts and eager affections is ſlaked, which alone before made them uncapable of better advice; and their cloſe-adhering pain which ſticks to them and ſcorches them worſe then *Hercules* his *ſhirt*, ſhould methinks neceſſarily force them to take up ſtrong and peremptory reſolutions and indignation againſt thoſe courſes whoſe fruits they now feel ſo direful to them. What is it then that ſhould make the merciful *Governour* of Heaven and earth and *hell* too, the compaſſionate *Father of ſpirits*, either forcibly to keep off and prevent this natural courſe of things, or, which is worſe, ſuffer thoſe Offers and Preparations which it induces for the bettering the preſent condition of ſo great and ſo conſiderable a part of his Creation, and for the putting of them in a way of return to what he at firſt made them, to come to nought? If we look but into the *natural world*, we ſhall finde

that no diſpoſition of matter to the ſuſception of life is rendred void and fruſtrate; but that there is alwayes ready at hand ſo fruitful a *principle* as perfects and completes whatever is preſented to its further vivification: and yet this *principle* is but the *brute* obſcure ſhadow of that Almighty *Goodneſs* and exuberant *Life* which actuates and manages the moral and intellectual World. Surely then no preparation happens here which is not carried onwards as farre as it is capable; eſpecially ſince this may be done, and yet theſe miſerable ſouls we are ſpeaking of pay ſoundly for their rebellious tranſgreſſions by a very long, exceedingly great and intolerable torture both of body and minde. And indeed by how much greater it is, by ſo much ſurer may we be that it will ſometimes have an end by the neceſſity of Nature. *Si gravis, brevis*, takes place here too: for it being unconceiveable how the Soul ſhould ſuffer any pain or torture but by the harſh and diſcordant motions of the body wherewith ſhe is vitally united, if this *Union* ever ceaſe, ſhe will become ſenſeleſs; and this union being conditional upon certain terms on both ſides, and the conditions being ſuch as are not neceſſarily at all times preſent to either of them, it may very well be thought that it may be diſſolved. For if the induction of an unnatural foulneſs and impurity, or an overvehement agitation into the blood and ſpirits and other fluid parts of the body, if old age it ſelf can make the Soul quit her unfit tenement; what ſhall we think ſhe will doe when it is all on fire, when all the motions of it are but one continued great pain? Which diſpoſition of body when come to its height by long conti-

continuance is certainly farre more contrary to that vital temper the Soul requires in the body ſhe will livingly joyn with, then either courſneſs of blood or conſumption of animal moiſture. For as if an actually perceived pleaſure was that which tempted and drew out the Soul to joyn with her body, no man would ſay ſhe would ever unite with that body from whoſe croſs conſtitution ſhe ſhould be affected with nought but pain: ſo where that congruity in her which diſpoſes her to that union is more deeply pitch'd in her *imperceptive powers*, a man would be apt to think nevertheleſs that ſhe could not vitally take hold of any body from conjunction with which ſhe ſhould after feel no motions but ſuch as would torture her. And we may eaſily perſwade our ſelves that that diſpoſition of body which will not prolicite the Soul to join with it when ſhe is free, and her *unfelt appetite* catching, cannot for ever tye her to it when forc'd upon her by her ſad fate. And the *matter* ſhe is then ſurrounded with being all of that *unvital* temper, it ſeems neceſſary that ſhe ſhould ceaſe from all life and ſenſe. So that whitherſoever we look, whether to the gracious providence of God, or the neceſſity of the Nature of things, we finde ſome probable hope that the puniſhment of the *damned*, as it implies the ſenſe of pain, ſhall not be *eternal* in the higheſt ſenſe of the word. And the Scripture too may ſeem to favour us, in that it calls this dreadful doom by the name of *eternal death*, which one would think did very ſtrangely ſet out that ſtate and condition wherein is the higheſt and moſt pungent ſenſe, but it does very appoſitely expreſs the ſenſe of *Origen*'s *hypotheſis*,

theſis explain'd after the latter and more probable way. But whether their *releaſe* be by any change wrought in the diſpoſition of their ſpirits but without *death*, or whether by an *eſcape* as it were by *dying* to the body ſo tortured, there is no doubt to be made but that both waies they may come into play again, and try their fortunes once more in ſuch regions of the world as Providence judges fit for them. For all things were made that they might have their being, and ſuch of them as are capable of life and ſenſe, and yet never exerciſe it, had as good not be at all, for they would be uſeleſs both to themſelves and others; but certainly there never were, nor ever will be ſuch things in the world, which was created and is govern'd by that *eternal minde* which does nothing fooliſhly and in vain. And though that raging fire which will in the conſummation of all things ſeize upon the earth, will render it and the adjoyning *atmoſphere* unhabitable for the preſent; yet that this ruinous defacement of things will extend through the whole compaſs of Nature, is neither the belief of *Chriſtians*, nor the aſſertion of ſuch *Philoſophers* as were through their skill in the conſtitution of the world fit to judge of ſuch *Theories*. And therefore if any man can conceive any of theſe Souls which ſhall be puniſhed in that *ſulphurous Lake* fit to emerge out of it, he need not be at a loſs for habitations for them elſewhere. But if the other way be more probable, that there is no getting out but by *death*, which is rather a dying *in* it; yet ſince they therefore onely dye becauſe the matter all about them is then ſuch as they cannot livingly unite with it, though their radical principles

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of vitality are ſtill ſafe and unperiſhable; and ſince that matter which for the preſent is ſo deadly, is as capable as ever of ſuch modifications as are vital and healthful, and will even by the courſe of Nature after long periods of time ſettle again into ſuch a wholeſome temper; what ſhould hinder but that theſe puniſhed Souls, whom long vexing pain drove from all commerce with matter and caſt them into a ſenſeleſs ſleep, will after their long inactivity awake again into life and action, when all things are become ſo freſh and fit to receive them? For if *Providence* hath been ſo favorable as to eſtabliſh ſo gracious an Order in the Nature and Courſe of things as wil lead thoſe miſerable ſpirits to a *releaſe* at laſt, *ſhe* certainly will not be unwilling that they ſhould live again when all things conſpire to give them life, and they continue capable of receiving it. But I am ſtepping, methinks, before I was aware into the *ſixth* and laſt Opinion of the *learned Father*, which is this,

That the Earth after her *conflagration* ſhall become habitable again, and be the manſion of *men* and other *animals*, and this in *eternal viciſſitudes.*

The *Philoſopher* in his *Politicks* ſaies, thoſe inſtruments are the beſt contrived, and doe their work beſt, which ſerve but one effect and End. But ſurely it is an argument of a larger and more comprehenſive wiſdome, to make one and the ſame thing ſerve to ſeveral good purpoſes; as we ſee Providence hath done both in the bodies of particular *animals*, and alſo of that great and *univerſal* one the World. And the ſame courſe ſhe takes in the *conflagration* of the Earth; for that one fire will be the juſt and ſalutary puniſh-

ment of rebellious ſpirits, and the Reſtauration of the earth grown old and effete unto an healthful genital ſtrength and verdure. And ſo wonderfully ſportful is ſhe (as I may ſo ſpeak with reverence) in the government of the world, and the aſcents and deſcents of her great *wheel* are ſo unexſpected, and ſo ſeemingly unlike one another, (yet the ſame hand and counſel turns all and to the ſame End) that that very region of the world and the face of things in it which even now ſeemed miſerable and forlorn, and the region of malediction, a delivery from which was thought well bought at the price of *death* and utter inſenſibility, even this at the next ſucceeding *rowl* becomes a flouriſhing Paradiſe, thick ſet with vigorous life and adorned with all the charms and gayety of freſh youthful pleaſure. For the *holy Father* might think it no extravagant conjecture, to imagine that the proceſs and conſequences of that great *Fire* will be ſomewhat the ſame with thoſe we daily obſerve upon earth in bodies ſubjected to the operation of fire. Moſt of which conſiſt of a twofold principle, the one more denſe and ſolid, the other ſubtile and tenuious: but when fire is applied to the whole, and ſpreads its inſinuating active *atoms* through every commiſſure of parts where either it finds or can make its way, the finer and more agitable particles by this new heat and motion got amongſt them iſſue out in ſmoak and vapour from thoſe places of reſtraint where they before lay more ſtill into the free and open air; but the more heavie and ſolid are left behind, as which the too ſubtile parts of fire, notwithſtanding all their activity, could not carry away with them,

them, being overpower'd by their exceſs of magnitude. And though we obſerve not any further progreſs in ordinary fires, and care not what becomes of the evaporated parts of the conſumed body; yet where either Uſe or Curioſity leads our obſervation on further, and we would not have thoſe parts diſſipated and loſt, we then finde that they which ſteamed forth in a vaporous rarity, being kept in by fit *Receivers*, and falling in cloſely with one another, do at laſt fall down again in a watery conſiſtence, retaining the ſame nature they had before they were forced out of the body they belong'd to. And if the *return* of this deſcending dew was ſo ordered, that it might have time enough to inſinuate it ſelf again equally through all the vacuities it made in the body by its departure, it would no doubt binde and conſolidate the looſer parts thereof, and tincture the whole concretion with its ſpecifick virtue and qualities. For this is no more then letting ground wrought out of heart lie fallow for ſome years, and it again will anſwer the hopes and reward the labour of its tiller. Though this example of the ordinary operation of fire and its conſequences for many reaſons falls ſhort of thoſe advantages for vitality and fertility which may be exſpected from the *conflagration* of the *earth*; yet as it is, it lets us ſee in ſome meaſure what will be the neceſſary effect of that piece of divine *chymiſtry*, in which Seas and rivers, and all the evaporable parts of the upper region of the earth, (for the *metallick* regions below are too ſolid to be much concerned in this matter) and all things thereon, will in a thick confuſed cloud mount aloft and cover the face of heaven,

filling the aire with pitchy darkneſs; but their own gravity and that cauſe which limits the extent of the *atmoſphere* will neceſſarily keep them below the purer regions of heaven or *æther*: ſo that rowling up and down in the lower vault of heaven, and kept yet from deſcending by that ſmothering heat that is amongſt them, that intenſe fire under them, and the continual aſcent of new vaporous ſteams, they will at laſt, when theſe cauſes abate, and themſelves become more crowded and confert through their exceſſive copiouſneſs, fall down in trickling dewie ſhowers, & mix again with that great heap of *aſhes* which covers the face of the earth, and make her fruitful and vegetative, and fill her emptied chanels with wholeſome ſtreams; the Air alſo will be kindly cool'd and moiſtned by thoſe long-deſcending ſhowers which paſs through it. So that ſo farre as concerns material preparations of life, here may be a *new* world again, if God ſo pleaſe. And unleſs he purpoſely put a ſtop to the courſe of Nature, the great *principle* of vegetative life will neceſſarily ſhape the matter, when duely modified, into all kinde of trees, plants, herbs and flowers: for the inferiour *ſpirit of the world* acts not by choice, but fatally; and being eſſentially ſtored with an univerſal *Seminality*, will not fail to bring her treaſure into view when invited by congruous and ſequacious diſpoſitions of *matter*. And methinks 'tis very odd there ſhould be ſo fair and pleaſant a garden, and none to enjoy the fruits and fragrancy of it. But if Philoſophy hath rightly determined that the ſouls of *brutes* are ſpirits, (which for my own part I think is done with demonſtrative evidence) and therefore remain

remain after all fates whatever undiminiſhable and indiſſipable in their intire ſubſtances, we need not fear thoſe pleaſant fruits will grow up and dy unenjoyed. For let the conciliating principle of *ſouls* and *matter* be what it will, either *ſpermatick* onely, or *ſenſitive* too, the ſouls of *brutes* will not fail to unite with it now it is become ſo fit. If the former, their expergefaction into life will then be as neceſſary as the growth of herbs and flowers: if the latter, then ſince the pleaſures of ſenſitive life are the top of the felicity they are capable of, and conſequently their ſtrongeſt deſires are bent thitherward and without any check, they will as certainly unite with matter whereby they may enjoy them, as they will eat meat caſt to them when their appetite is edged with a keen hunger. But ſince the former is more rational, and is found in the Souls of *men* and *Daemons* as well as beaſts, what ſhould hinder it from having the ſame effect in all, and ſo both earth and aire be again repleniſhed with their reſpective inhabitants? And for the earth it may further be ſaid, that the *decorum* and congruity of the thing perſwades it. For ſince there ſeems little leſs then a neceſſity that ſhe ſhould be furniſhed with all manner of fruits and *brute animals*, and that the greateſt part and chiefeſt kinds of thoſe fruits are ſuch as are either little regarded or cannot be come at by the beaſts, that I may not adde how quickly the ſoile where they grow and the plants that bear them will decay and come to nothing without humane culture; and further, ſince many *ſpecies* of beaſts themſelves ſeem ſo made with relation to man, that without him they would be ill provided for,

or too much expoſed to ſuch as would prey upon them, and the exerciſe of their chief powers could not be called forth, and many appetites and affections which hugely pleaſe them would finde little or no gratification; this congruity of things, I ſay, would almoſt perſwade one that *Man* ought alſo to appear on the Earth, to be the Father of this great family, the lord, governour, patron and defender of all the creatures therein. And there is nothing in the Nature of God to make us doubt of the truth of theſe pleaſant conjectures, but much which favours them. For, for theſe better and more perfect ſpirits to continue yet in being, and yet to be kept for ever dead and ſenſleſs, is to fill the world with that which is perfectly uſeleſs and in vain, (as I intimated above;) and to be capable not onely of life, but alſo upon a new trial of their fortune to be in more then a poſſibility of making a better choice then that they pai'd ſo dearly for, and of returning in due time to that ſtate of holineſs & felicity God made them for, (to all which worthy purpoſes they may now have a fair opportunity) and yet after all this to ſay that God is ſo farre from furthering and helping on theſe hopefull beginnings, that, on the contrary, by a peremptory will and violent hand he ſtrangles them, is at leaſt to ſay this, that there is no certain nor probable arguing from the Attributes of God, by which I through a certain infirmity of my Nature was alwaies the moſt ſtrongly convinced, that I was by any way of arguing whatever. But if a man may with any probability argue from the Nature of God in ſuch ſubjects and about ſuch effects as depend on his operation; I, in the perſon

perſon of *Origen*, deſire his adverſaries briefly to compare the ſtate of things after the *conflagration* of the earth with that which they ſay was before any thing was made. God was then infinitely *good* and *kind*, and by that his infinite goodneſs was moved to create the world; ſuch is he ſtill, for his bleſſed Nature is immutable. The things afterward created by him were not then in being; here they are all in being, and want onely his *permiſſive* or *ordering* hand of Providence. They were then onely in a poſſibility of being well and happily made; here they are in the very next ſtep to being ſo even by the neceſſary laws of Nature. Thoſe reaſonable creatures he then made were not indeed ſinners and tranſgreſſors; yet they were made of ſuch a Nature as they might very likely become ſuch afterward, and they have now ſoundly ſmarted for it, and have been afflicted even unto *death*, and at this terme Revenge it ſelf ſtops: then certainly juſt and righteous puniſhment inflicted by the *father of mercies* and father of the puniſhed will not goe beyond it; which if it doe not, it will be very hard for them to give any tolerable reaſon why the Earth ſhall not become habitable again after her *conflagration* and purification by fire, and be the manſion of *men* and other *animals*, as well as it was in the firſt production of it. This is the firſt part of the *Father*'s Opinion. But if this *firſt* was granted for true, and but *one* reſtauration of the earth and replanting of her with all her proper inhabitants was acknowledged, he that believes this would finde no difficulty in believing that eternal *viciſſitude* and infinite repetition of *conflagrations* and *re-productions* which in the *ſecond*

part

part of the *dogma* he asserts. For since nothing perishes out of the compass of universal Nature, neither *Spirit* nor *Matter*, it is plain there will be alwaies ready at hand both the materials and Inhabitants of the *thousandth* habitable *Earth* as well as of the *second*; and that most benigne *principle* which made and governs all things, is neither lessened nor changed at that *thousandth* period from what he was at the *second*.

You may now possibly expect that the *pious Father* should confirm his doctrine out of Scripture, as in most of the former he did. But here he bids you call to minde the advertisement he gave you at the beginning of his second *dogma*, and consider how necessary and decorous it was that the holy pen-men of Scripture should not run out into such abstruse natural *Theories*, which so few of those they were to *Christianize* would be capable of, but keep themselves within the bounds of those few plain Articles which were necessary to the reforming the world, and begetting in the minds of the simplest a firm hope of life and immortality hereafter, and deterring all men from the waies of sin and unrighteousness by that sad afterclap they must expect in the end of this world, leaving all further considerations not repugnant to these to the laudable curiosity of such as Nature and Education had fitted for such enquiries. Yet will he not wholy frustrate your expectation, for I finde him making use of these following places of Scripture in behalf of his Opinion; *Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou endurest; yea all of them shall wax old like a garment: as a vesture shalt thou*

thou change them, and they ſhall be changed; but thou art the ſame. Where he ſaies ſuch a *periſhing* is *exegetically* ſignified, both of the Earth and regions of the Aire, as is conſiſtent with *but a change*; but where there is onely a change the ſubſtance is not deſtroyed. And this change being as the change of a garment worn out or decaying, ſuppoſes not onely a change for another (which it certainly does, unleſs he that hath worn out one garment and after goes naked be ſaid to change his cloaths) but alſo for a newer and better. Alſo that of S. *Paul, The faſhion of this world paſſes away*, i. e. like a *turning ſcene*, to exhibite a freſh and new repreſentation of things; and if onely the σχῆμα of *this* world, or the preſent outward dreſs and appearance of things, goe off, the ſubſtance is ſuppoſed to remain intire. And that of the Prophet *Iſaiah, Behold, I make new heavens and a new earth: and the former ſhall not be remembred nor come into minde.* How exactly does this agree with his *hypotheſis*, whether you interpret the latter part of it concerning the excellencie of the vernant youth and ſpring of the renewed world above the ſqualid and decrepit age of the old one, or concerning that perfect *oblivion* in the inhabitants of the new that ever they lived before in the old? And that *new heavens* and *new earth* may be underſtood in a *phyſical* ſenſe, both S. *Peter* and S. *John* make it not utterly improbable. For though our *Tranſlation* ſeems to lay an *emphaſis* upon *we* in that place of *Peter*, as if the exſpected *new heavens* and *earth* according to promiſe were thoſe habitations of glory which Chriſt ſhall give to his faithful ſubjects in his heavenly kingdome: yet there is nothing in the *Greek*

which countenances ſuch an *emphaſis*. The whole is plainly thus, *That fire ſhall melt and diſſolve all the combuſtible elements of Nature; yet for all that, according as he hath promiſed, we expect there ſhall be new heavens and new earth, or heavens and earth again, whoſe inhabitants ſhall be better and more righteous then thoſe of the decaying and corrupted world are.* And the viſion of a *new heaven* and *new earth* in S. *John* does ſo immediately ſucceed the *univerſal judgement*, and the caſting of death and *Hades* into the lake of fire, that it would almoſt perſwade a man that it is to ſucceed it alſo in order of Time, ſince there is ſo great a congruity in the thing for it ſo to do. For ſuppoſe this Opinion true, and to have been a part of the *Apocalyptical viſions*, what fitter and more natural place could you aſſigne it amongſt them then that it now hath according to our preſent interpretation? I will trouble you but with one Argument more, though conſiſting of more texts then one, but all in the ſame Epiſtle of S. *Peter*. *And ſpared not the old world, but preſerved* ΟΓΔΟΟΝ ΝΩΕ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΚΗΡΥΚΑ, *having brought the flood upon the world of the ungodly. This they are willingly ignorant of, that there were of old heavens and earth conſiſting of and placed amidſt the waters by the word of God. By which conſtitution of things the world that then was being overflowed with water periſhed. But the heavens and earth which now are by the ſame word are kept in ſtore, reſerved for fire at the day of judgement & perdition of ungodly men.* To theſe texts adde that which we cited before, *But we look for new heavens and a new earth*; and then compare the ſeveral paſſages in them one with another:

ther: for example, the *phyſical* ſtate and conſtitution of things before the *Flood* is called the *old* or original *world*, the *then world*, the *heavens and earth* which were *of old*; that after the *Flood* is called the *heavens and earth* which *now are*, and in reſpect of the former might as properly be called the *new world*, as *that* is called the *old world* in reſpect of it; that which is to ſucceed the burning of this is (as we have conjectured) termed *new heavens* and a *new earth* in reſpect of the *ſecond*. The *firſt* of theſe three worlds is ſaid to *periſh* or be deſtroyed by water for the puniſhment of the ungodly, yet ſo as *Noah* was preſerved to be a preacher of righteouſneſs, as ſome Interpreters expound it. The *ſecond* is ſaid to be reſerved to the deſtruction of fire for the perdition of ungodly men, that ſo the *third* may be the habitation of righteouſneſs. Now ſince they are ſo diſtinctly deſcribed as ſeveral *worlds*, and ſince the changes happening to them are called *deſtructions* alike, and their ends are the ſame, to wit, the puniſhment of the ungodly: why ſhould we imagine ſo vaſt a difference, that the deſtruction of the *firſt* ſhould be followed with a new plantation of mankinde by *Noah* and his Sons, of animals by the pairs of each kinde reſerved in the Arke, and of all kinde of plants by their own fruitful ſeminalities, but nothing follow upon the deſtruction of the *ſecond* but a perfect irrecoverable exciſion of all things? when yet the way that this is to be deſtroyed by does as naturally lead to a re-production as that of the other, but after a farre longer time. There is one thing more I am to put you in minde of, which I had from a very good hand, concerning one of

the texts above cited, to wit, about that odde disturbed order of words in this sentence, Δλλ' ὄγδοον Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα ἐφύλαξε· for such it must needs seem according to that interpretation which makes it ὄγδοον κήρυκα· and that other which makes him be called ὄγδοος because he was one of the *eight* saved in the Arke, is harsh and without example in Scripture, so far as I remember. What then if there be a *mystery* in the business? (as you know numbers have been commonly used to this purpose by the ancient Wisdome both holy and prophane) and as *Enoch* who was *translated* is called the *seventh* from Adam, as a type of that expected *Sabbatisme* in the last day of the *Millennial hebdomade* and of this world: so *Noah*, who begun the world again, is called the *Eighth*, (not from *Adam*) as a *figure* signifying this, that the simply-last period of this lower world was not then come to an end, but was still to be counted onward; and the production or drawing out of the existence of things being here *symbolically* taught, it would be more expressly done by reckoning upward in the *numeral Scale*, then by beginning again at the *first* of that long *hebdomade*. But enough of these fanciful conjectures, as also of the arguments from Scripture to confirm this last Opinion of *Origen*. Unto all which if you in the person of others make answer and say, That there is no necessity that these places should be so interpreted as the *Father* interprets them, but that other convenient senses may be put upon them, I am perfectly of your minde; but yet further reply, First, that they whose answer you have formed for them are commonly so superstitious,

that

that they will not admit of a *philoſophical* concluſion though warranted by the Attributes of God and neceſſity of Nature rightly underſtood, and be ſuch as was not decorous nor becoming the ſimplicity of the Goſpell to be expreſly and of ſet purpoſe taught by the holy writers of Scripture, who were onely to minde the greater and more neceſſary doctrines of Chriſtian Faith and Life, unleſs it alſo bring the Teſtimonials of Divine Writ. Secondly, though theſe *texts* ſhould have a more eſpecial reſpect to ſome other ſenſe then that we have given them, yet why may it not be that ours alſo was intended in ſome degree by the *Holy Spirit?* For ſince the holieſt and moſt intellectual perſons would be very prone to fall into this Opinion, which they plainly ſaw ſo worthy of God and conſentaneous to reaſon, but yet could not but with ſome fearfulneſs fully embrace it, becauſe like to be unuſual and not in general vogue: it is not ſtrange that ſome places of Scripture ſhould be ſo contrived as not obſcurely to ſing the ſame Note their own thoughts had been harping on before, and ſo give boldneſs and aſſurance to their Conceptions; for a little touch or intimation would be enough for them ſo well prepared aforehand; and as for others, they either might not be fit for, or not deſerve a plainer inſtruction. Laſtly, whoever they be in whoſe name you have made this *exception*, of what Church, Sect or way ſoever, I doubt not they would have far fewer Articles in their Creeds and Confeſſions then they now probably have, and muſt profeſs the belief of fewer Opinions then now 'tis likely they do, if ſo be they thought all groundleſs which were not built on

ſuch texts of Scripture as would admit of no other tolerable and plauſible expoſition then that they give of them. And therefore I demand of them in the *Father*'s behalf, that which they in equity ought not to deny him, that his Opinion ſtand as probably true, and the Scriptures cited by him as commodiouſly interpreted, till ſuch time as they bring better arguments, more agreeing with the nature of things and the Attributes of God, and clearer places of Scripture for the truth of the contrary.

I have now given you an Account of thoſe Reaſons and Grounds the learned and pious *Father* had for thoſe *ſix* capital Errours ſome of the Ancients have charged him with, and under which Attainder he ſtill lies from their Authority; and have therewith anſwered your *fourth Quere*. Wherein I have punctually obſerved your commands, in giving you thoſe reaſons onely by which I finde him to have maintained his Opinions; and have waved many other very material or plauſible conſiderations for confirming the ſame, which ſome later Authors have uſed with much danger, I have feared, to their leſs-ſetled (or as they ſpeak now-adaies, Free) Readers; and have alſo omitted thoſe injections rather then ſtudied thoughts which my own melancholy Fancy hath oft with too great importunity obtruded on my minde: which ſometimes are ſo ſtrong in me (I will not to you diſſemble my infirmity) that all the Charmes of Reverend Names, of Churches, of Articles, of Confeſſions, of univerſally-approved Syſtems, have had much adoe to expel them, or ſo farre abate their force, that I was not carried away by them from that ſtabi-

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lity and ſobriety of ſpirit upon which I deſire to build all my Conceptions. Before I come to your *fifth Quare*, I muſt crave pardon of his *venerable Aſhes*, if I have any where diſadvantaged his Cauſe, either by my unskilful management of his Reaſons, or by omitting any more conſiderable and convincing then thoſe I have produced out of his Writings. For the general Opinion of the Learned, that the tranſlations of them were ſo ſacrilegiouſly mangled and performed with ſo little judgement and faithfulneſs, made me never care to look much into them, ſince I could not be certain whether I read the mind of *Origen* or ſome very mean Author; and therefore I was now forced, that I might obey your commands in ſome meaſure, to tumble them over as my hand led me, and where by chance I ſpied any hopes that there was ſomething there handled proper for my purpoſe, to uſe the beſt judgement I had in conjecturing which was likely to be the genuine iſſue of *Origen*'s contemplative *Genius*, and which the ſpurious interpolations of another. In which tumultuary labour 'tis no wonder if ſeveral things eſcaped me farre more fit to appear in his defence then theſe are which by chance I light upon.

YOur *fifth* and laſt *Quare* is, By what reaſons and arguments his Adverſaries oppugned his Opinions, and how I imagine an *Origeniſt* would anſwer to their oppoſitions.

Truly, *Sir*, though I muſt praiſe the freedome and prudence which appear in the firſt part of this *Quare*, and which plainly tell me (though I well knew it before) that you are not willing to pronounce of any propo-

propoſition under debate, till you have clearly ſeen through it from end to end, and that you are ſo diffident of your ſelf (a ſure ſigne of true wiſdome) that you care not to have a plauſible opinion come near you, unleſs you alſo have an Antidote at hand: yet I crave leave freely to tell you, there is ſome iniquity in the ſecond part of it, in that it impoſes a *perſon* upon me which I am unfit to ſuſtain. But ſince I have already acted that part here and there, and am now more fully to doe it only for your divertiſement without the preſence and conſciouſneſs of any other *Arbiter*, I ſhall not be much ſollicitous what ineptneſs or *indecorum* I commit in it; for you cannot for ſhame laugh at the ill managery of it, when by your commands alone I undertake it.

Againſt his *firſt* Opinion they object, That 'tis mere *Arrianiſme*, an Hereſie condemned in the early age of the Church, when Truth may be ſuppoſed to have been free from that corruption or obſcurity wherewith length of time and the improved craft and ſubtilty of intereſſed perſons might afterwards debaſe or entangle it.

To this heavie charge, but laid on at randome, I, according to my *part*, thus anſwer. You cannot but have oft obſerved how common a practice it is with men who either cannot diſpute, or begin to be tired with it, to make ſhort work with their Adverſaries by calling them *Hereticks*. And that I may not trouble you with many Examples, nor fetch them farre, call but to minde how frequently you have read and heard two very conſiderable parties in this Nation both for Learning and Piety call one the other in their Writings

tings and Sermons *Manichees* and *Pelagians*. And yet both of them diſown the Names which their adverſary would fix on them, and are aſſured they can demonſtrate it is invidiouſly but improperly given them. And this the *Origeniſt* will ſay is his Maſter's caſe. For by what I have ſaid above in this Opinion it is manifeſt that he will not nor cannot ſay by his *hypotheſis*, *That it ever was that the Son was not, that he was not before he was born, that he was made* ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, *or that he is not of the ſame Subſtance or Eſſence with the Father, or is created, or is variable or mutable, or that he is not God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God.* So that if a man may be bold with or without the leave of mindleſs or heated declaimers to think himſelf free from Hereſie, when neither the *Anathematiſms* nor the *Creed* of that Council which, if any, is to condemn him do concern or touch him, *Origen* is then pure as Innocence and Truth her ſelf from this Charge. Which I could very particularly demonſtrate, if his accuſers had been pleaſed as particularly to charge him. They have been indeed very forward to catch at one word of his, to wit, γεννητὸς Θεὸς, and from thence inferre what their humours pleaſed. One of them ſaies, becauſe he ſaid γεννητὸς, therefore he denied the *Son* to be *begotten*; whenas he often calls the Divine λόγον the *onely-begotten Son of God*. Another of them as raſhly concludes that he meant by it *created*, and yet confeſſes that there are ὁμολεξίαι καὶ ὁμωνυμίαι ὃν ἡ βίβλος, and that this ſame word might have been uſed by another in this matter κατ' ὀρθὴν διάνοιαν · but in *Origen* it muſt not ſcape ſo fairly, but *created* muſt by all means be underſtood by

it, because he does in many places (yet none of them are produced) ἀπαλλοτριοῦν τὸ μονογενῆ θεὸν τῆς τοῦ παντὸς δεσπότου τε καὶ θεοῦ. Which is manifestly false; for he every where calls the λόγον God and the Creator of all things, and according to his doctrine of the *holy Trinity* he is substantially, essentially and immutably such, and of the same Divinity and Essence with the Father, therefore certainly no *Creature*. And though *Ruffinus* his translations are of no certain credit, yet certainly his appealing to *Origen*'s Writings then exstant in their *Original* and in the hands of his Adversaries, for his plain affirming the Father and Son to be of the *same Substance* or *Essence*, is a sufficient argument that *Origen* did indeed think so: unless you will think *Ruffinus* such a fool as so confidently to appeal to such testimonies out of his Writings whom he would defend, as every one might convince of falsity. Nay *Epiphanius* himself hath one quarrel with him for the inconsistency of his doctrine, in that making the *Son* of the *same Essence* with the *Father* he makes him also *created*; but this *created* is his own inference from the word γεννητὸς (as I said before) not the affirmation of *Origen*. And it may further be said in his defence as to the use of this word what is for the defence of all the *Fathers* before the *Nicene Council*, that they spoke *less cautiously* in the Doctrine of the *Trinity*. For till the Church had for the security of this Article determined that the Belief and Confession of it should be in such certain conceived words, and had forbad the use of others which were obnoxious to such interpretations as were injurious to the dignity of any *hypostasis* in it, such interdicted

dicted words might have been then harmlesly used, which could not afterwards without great carelesnes of spirit, neglect of the Governours of the Church, or heretical perswasion. And particularly this word γεννητὸς in its large sense signifies no more then what is true of any thing whatever that hath a cause of its being and existence; and therefore in those early ages of the Church which spoke more simply and intelligibly might have been used without offence, but certainly did not raise such Tragedies in those dayes as afterwards when subtilty and niceness about words had made men peevish. For that it is alwayes the same with κτιστὸς and ποιητὸς, as *Epiphanius* would have it, no Critick will grant: for these do particularize the way of production, and that such an one as is not competent to the *Eternal Son of God*, which that other does not necessarily. Neither did *Origen* for ought that appears use it often: I am sure *Epiphanius* takes notice of it onely once, to wit, out of his Preface to his Exposition on the Psalms. And possibly he did never use it at all; for he himself complains that some *Heretiсks* corrupted his Writings while he was yet living; what would they then doe think you when he was not present who could authentically convince them of their foul dealing? And it is well known in the Records of Ecclesiastical Story that the *Arrians* would have kept up their blasphemous Errour by the venerable Authority of *Origen*. How easie then was it for them, a crafty and industrious generation, and sometimes in great power, to change γεννητὸς into γενητὸς; But why do I trouble you or my self with so tedious a chase of a fitting word? The sub-

ſtantial frame of *Origen's hypotheſis* concerning the *Trinity* is ſuch in the nature of the thing, as makes it impoſſible there ſhould be any place for ſuſpicion that he thought the *Son of God* a *Creature*; unleſs he could think him a Creature whom by that *hypotheſis* he acknowledges eternally exſiſtent, and eſſentially and immutably endowed with perfections truly Divine in an infinite degree, and to be the Creator of all things. And therefore all thoſe expoſtulations of *Epiphanius* are loſt as to *Origen* by being miſapplied. How is he adorable if he be a *made* God? Nothing *created* can be worſhipped. Does Chriſt the Word ever ſay, God *created* me, or my Father *created* me? or does God ever ſay, I have *created* the Son and ſent him to you? How can he be *created* who ſayes, I in the Father, and the Father in me, and we two are one? For theſe and ſuch like ſayings I am not concerned in, and therefore let thoſe Hereticks, whether Ancient or Modern, anſwer them (if they can) againſt whom they are truly levell'd.

His *ſecond* and *third* Opinions are ſo conjunct, and his Adverſaries Arguments againſt them ſeveral of them ſo indeterminate, that I think it beſt to joyn them both in one, and leave it to you to diſtinguiſh which argument belongs to which Opinion. If his Opinion (ſay they) of *præexſiſtence* and *lapſe* of ſuperiour beings into this inferiour life be true, where is then the benediction to *Adam* and his ſeed, *Increaſe and multiply, and repleniſh the earth?* For it would be a curſe rather then a *bleſſing* according to him who turns Angels into Souls, and makes them deſcend from their high pitch of Dignity to theſe inferiour habitations.

bitations. As if God could not ſupply humane kinde with Souls, unleſs the Angels ſinned, and there be as many ruines in Heaven as births on earth. The ambiguity of the word *Angels* being premiſed, and nothing underſtood here by it but *humane Souls* inhabiting ſome purer Regions of the world, I then anſwer that this Objection proceeds upon a miſunderſtanding of *Origen*'s *hypotheſis*, as if he made the generations of mankinde to be ſupplied by the deſcent of ſuch *Souls* or Spirits into terreſtrial bodies, while ſuch, *i.e.* whiles by congruity of life they were fit to be the Inhabitants of thoſe better dwellings. This I confeſs would be a condition they may juſtly wonder God ſhould ſo ſpecially own and favour by his *Benediction*. But if through the neceſſary incompoſſibility in created Natures incorporate, thoſe Spirits which were ſometimes Inhabitants of more happy places, and the Eyes and Ears of *Providence*, and inviſible Adminiſtratours of the affairs of ſome parts of her great Kingdome, become by degrees after long periods of better life fit onely for the *terreſtrial*, which is the *Father*'s minde: for theſe to be born upon earth and reap thoſe pleaſures which the *eternal Wiſdome and Goodneſs*, who paſſes through all things and conditions, and hath left ſome impreſſions of himſelf in all, hath imparted to that life, is neither to make any violent breach in Heaven, nor is any curſe to thoſe deſcending Souls. For ſuch mutable Creatures may have ſo worn out ſome way or other their more perfect vitality, that the diſordered ruines of it may be very uneaſie to their ſenſe, and a pain rather then any ſatisfaction; and to be awakened into a life though *inferiour* in *kind*,

yet ſtronger and fuller in the ſenſe of thoſe delights it affords then the meaneſt and loweſt ruines of the *ſuperiour* were, may be a releaſe and advantage. But if they be born into this world out of the dark womb of *death* and *inſenſibility*, 'tis then a manifeſt *bleſſing* to them. And God, who hath furniſhed every kinde of life with its proper and ſutable good and pleaſure, may very truly and righteouſly be ſaid to impart his *benediction* to thoſe Beings which are vivificated into it, when they were capable of no better. And whether he made them of ſuch a Nature as to be capable onely of one condition of life and one place of habitation, or of more, makes no matter, ſince by the eternal laws of *Nature* or *Demerit* they are now become fit onely for one; and for this preſent turn can perform their parts in it as well and as ſutably to the ends of *Providence* as if they had been originally made capable of this alone. Shall I call that an argument, or a pitiful miſtake in S. *Jerome*, which he hath formed with a great ſhew of ſubtilty and coherence, bringing his adverſarie at laſt (as he imagined) to a groſs abſurdity? His words are theſe, *Si anima fuit antequam Adam in Paradiſo* [the terreſtrial one] *formaretur, in quolibet ſtatu & ordine, & vixit & egit aliquid; (neque enim poſſumus incorporalem & æternam in modum gliriũm immobilem torpentémque ſentire) neceſſe eſt ut aliqua cauſa præceſſerit, cur quæ prius ſine corpore fuit, poſtea circundata ſit corpore. Et ſi anima eſt naturale eſſe ſine corpore, ergo contra naturam eſt eſſe in corpore. Si contra naturam eſt eſſe in corpore, ergo Reſurrectio corporis contra naturam erit. Sed non fiet Reſurrectio contra naturam: ergo juxta ſententiam veſtram corpus*

quod

quod contra naturam eſt reſurgens, animam non habebit. I know not what to make of this, nor how to interpret it ſo as it ſhall have any force at all; for if by being *without a body* he mean a *terreſtrial* one, I wonder why he ſhould ſuppoſe that the *Origeniſts* neither had nor could affigne a *cauſe*, why the Soul once without a *terreſtrial* body ſhould afterwards be cloathed with ſuch a body. For he himſelf takes notice out of *Origen* of very ſufficient reaſons how this ſhould come to paſs, as I have before ſhewed. And further, it is ſtrange he ſhould think it an abſurdity to an *Origeniſt* to deny the Reſurrection of ſuch a body, whom he knows and often affirms makes the myſtery of the Reſurrection to be our *vivification* into an *æthereal life* and the obtaining of an *æthereal body.* But if by being *without a body* he mean without *any body* at all, you may juſtly wonder at ſo great a forgetfulneſs and dormitation in ſo acute and diligent a Writer; who amongſt other of *Origen*'s Errours or Phancies (as he calls them) does more then once take notice of this, *That he makes all created Spirits have bodies according to the Nature of thoſe Regions of the world they live in, and to change them as oft as they do their Manſions from the higheſt Heaven to Earth the loweſt abode of all, ſo as that they never will be without a body* (if they be alive) *ſo long as there is any matter in the world.* So that howſoever you interpret him, the Objection will be pitifully precarious, or a groſs careleſneſs and inadvertency. Hither muſt alſo be referred what *Epiphanius* and his two Aſſiſtants *Proclus* and *Methodius* keep ſuch a ſtirre about, to wit, the *Coats of skins* which God in the ſtory of *Adam* is ſaid to make for him, which

Origen

Origen interpreted *terreſtrial bodies*, wherewith *Adam* and *Eve* were cloathed upon their tranſgreſſion. But they think 'tis plain from the order and words of the hiſtory, that they had ſuch bodies before their fall, even from their firſt Creation; for God is there ſaid to form man *out of the duſt of the ground*, and make the woman of *Adam's rib*, and when ſhe was brought to him he ſaid, This is *bone of my bone and fleſh of my fleſh*. But what a poor attempt is this of theirs to paſs over thoſe ſubſtantial arguments by which he maintains the reaſonableneſs and concinnity of thoſe two Opinions of his *Praexſiſtence* and *deſcent* of Souls into *terreſtrial bodies*, and to catch at an interpretation of a word in ſuch an Hiſtory as the moſt learned both of *Jews* and *Chriſtians* have always acknowledged to contain more ſenſes then the plain and *literal* one? And in ſuch myſterious writings, which are to look more wayes then one, and handle Subjects of much different nature, 'tis not ſtrange if there be ſomething in the Order wherein they are handled which may ſeem perplex'd to thoſe who are onely for the *literal ſenſe*, and who have not the freedome and patience to obſerve the continuity of the *Allegory*, but ſnatch at one ſingle part of it, and disjoynt it from the reſt, and if they cannot fit it to that Order they have ſet to themſelves in their interpretation, preſently reject the whole as a perturbed intricate Fancy. But how congruous all things are in the *Cabbala* of the Creation, and how naturally one part follows upon another without violence to the *Letter*, you may fully ſee in that learned Gentleman's *Cabbaliſtical Conjecture* to whom I referred you before. And I dare appeal to the Fancy of any

any man, though but meanly capable of understanding what is proportionate, congruous and apposite when he hears it, whether any thing can be more comely and more expressive of the condition of the Soul fallen from her divine and intellectual state into an animal condition, then to say she is then cloathed with the *skins of a brute*. And methinks *Proclus*, if he understood himself, should have little reason to quarrel at *Origen*'s Allegory, who himself makes these *Coats* to signifie τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τῶν ζώων νεκρότητα κατεσκευασμένην. They have another bout with him concerning this matter, for affirming that we were turned out of *Paradise celestial* before we came to dwell upon Earth. For 'tis plain (say they) that Paradise is a pleasant place upon earth appointed for the happy and quiet habitation of the Saints, from the rivers of it, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, &c. For could the earth bear the down-powring Floods of so much water tumbling in such heaps from Heaven? Do you not smile at such Arguers? and I fear you would laugh at me if I should industriously set my self to answer them. I shall therefore onely minde them of another *Paradise* spoken of in the Gospels, *where* Christ promised the good Thief *he should be with him*; *whither* S. *Paul* in his Epistles saies he *was caught up*; which S. *John* also calls by the name of the *Paradise of God*, somewhere within the compass whereof grows the *Tree of Life*, and whose rivers are the *water of life*. I would know of them likewise what they would answer to the authority of the best Jewish Writers, who generally say that *Paradise* is out of this world, and was created before this *lower world* was. Nay *Jerome* himself

here helps *Origen*'s cauſe with his authority, concluding thus from the words of the Text, *Ex quo manifeſtiſimè comprobatur, quod priuſquam cælum & terram Deus faceret, Paradiſum antè condiderat. Quæſt. in Gen.* But 'tis no wonder the *Objectors* ſhould talk at that rate they doe; for they plainly affirm that the eternal habitation of the Bleſſed after the Reſurrection ſhall be upon Earth. Saint *Ferome* hath other Texts of Scripture againſt *Præexſiſtence*, which in his own words are theſe: *Pater uſque modo operatur, & ego operor*; and that of *Iſaiah*, *Qui format ſpiritum hominis in ipſo*; and that in the Pſalms, *Qui fingit per ſingulos corda eorum.* By theſe places he thinks it appears that God does daily as there is occaſion create Souls. To the *firſt* I anſwer by demanding what neceſſity there is that the *working* here mention'd ſhould ſignifie *Creation* of Souls? Are not all the works of his *Providence* in continuing life, motion, order to the world and every part of it, in governing and managing all by his Goodneſs, Power and Wiſdome to their behoof and advantage, ſufficient to verifie this ſaying, that the *Father worketh hitherto?* and does not our Saviour's adding, *and I work*, with reference to that beneficent miracle he had wrought on the Sabbath-day, plainly intimate what kinde of operation he meant in both? And if I ſhould confront *Ferome*'s expoſition with that in *Geneſis*, *God reſted on the Seventh day from all his work*, or that of Saint *Paul*, *His works were finiſhed from the foundation of the world*, I am ſure I ſhould have Reaſon and Philoſophy on my ſide; and their Exception, that theſe places are to be underſtood of the *Species* of things, is not ſo plainly gathered

from

from the words, as is my interpreting of *my Father worketh hitherto*, of his works of Providence and continual Beneficence. His other two places mean no more then this, that God is the Creatour and Father of Souls or Spirits, and by his Power over them molds, faſhions, and changes them as he pleaſes; both which are true though the Soul ſubſiſted from eternal ages. You will ask me then, Where lies the *Father's* Argument? Truly, *Sir*, it is ſo thin and evanid a ſubtilty, that your great Minde made for and uſed to great Objects may very likely miſs it; but this it is, He reads the words thus, *who forms* in him *the Spirit of man*, not *the Spirit of man* which is *in him*. This would have been pretty had he firſt proved by ſubſtantial arguments taken from the Nature of the *Soul* or *Providence*, that the Souls of men could not exſiſt before they inform'd a terreſtrial body; but having not done that, nor ſcarce endeavoured it, his argutenes is ridiculous. For who can doubt but that the *Prophet* meant the ſame with that more compleat and expreſs form of ſpeech in S. *Paul*, Who knows the things of a man, εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ; If I ſhould ſay of that elegant Watch you did me the honour to give me, that your own neat and curious hand wrought and *form'd* all the Springs and Wheels *in it*, no man would be ſo mad as to think I meant that you wrought them within the Caſe; or if I ſhould tell you (which I may with truth) that I have been ſo oft at *Alney-thorpe* that *I know* all the inhabitants *in it*, I hope you would not think that the Image of your noble Perſon was ſo ſeldome in my Fancy, or that I was of ſo fantaſtick a memory, that I

knew you and the rest of your neighbours onely when I was there, but should not know you at my own *Hermitage* or any where else.

These are all the Objections they have (so farre as I remember) against these two Opinions of *Origen*, the *Praexsistence* and *Descent* of the Soul into a terrestrial body; unless you will give so much to the authority of *Jerome* in a *metaphysical* argument, as to take that magnificent *bravado* of his for another, *Quod vos miramini, olim in Platone contempsimus*. And do not you think now, *Sir*, that these *good Fathers* having so strenuously and perspicuously shewn that these two *dogmata* are inconsistent with the *Attributes* of God, and contrary to the *nature of things*, and having so plainly demonstrated the *sophisticalness* of *Origen*'s Arguments and the *inconsequence* of his illations, lastly, having by so plain and cogent places of *Scripture* proved the contrary positions to be true, do you not think, I say, that they had reason to call these Opinions of his τερετισμὸν καὶ τραγικολογίαν, *Non-sense* and *Stolidity*? I leave you to judge.

But I pass on to their Objections against his *fourth* Opinion of the Resurrection. And here they are more copious, I mean in arguments taken out of Scripture; for I do not yet remember that they make use of *Ethnick* and *secular* philosophy (as they speak) against it. And indeed their arguments are so numerous that it is a prejudice against the truth of their cause: for though a single text or two may probably escape the observation even of a diligent reader; yet that such a multitude as they boast of and ostentate should be all unmarked by *Origen*, one so well vers'd

vers'd in Scripture that he had it all without book, or that he ſhould be ſo ſtubborn and pervicacious in his falſe perſwaſion who was ſo hearty and ſincere a Chriſtian, is a very wonderful thing. In many of their arguments againſt him they are ſo phanſyful and allegorical, and do ſo toy and ſport with a word or two in the text; that if a man did not know the perſons, he would certainly conclude either ſuch Argumentatours or the Queſtion was not ſerious; or that they thought their adverſaries ſuch muſhromes, ſo ſoft and fooliſh, that they would be put off with any thing. Such Objections as theſe I ſhall not trouble you withall; the chief of the other which have a better ſhow and pretence I will give you. They ſay then, With what body our Saviour roſe and aſcended into heaven, with the like ſhall we be raiſed again and live in heaven with. But he roſe with the very ſame fleſh and blood he had before his crucifixion, as is manifeſt from his ſhewing the print of the nails and of the Souldiers ſpear to S. *Thomas*, and aſcended with the ſame to heaven in the ſight of his diſciples. To this *Origen* himſelf anſwers in the words of *Jerome*, *Illud corpus aliis pollet privilegiis, quod de viri ſemine & carnis voluptate non natum eſt. Comedit poſt reſurrectionem ſuam & bibit, & veſtitus apparuit, tangendum ſe præbuit; ut dubitantibus apoſtolis fidem faceret reſurrectionis. Sed tamen non diſſimulabat naturam aerii corporis & ſpiritalis: clauſis enim ingreditur oſtiis, & in fractione panis ex oculis evaneſcit.* And in other places he adds his being not known of the two diſciples going to *Emmaus*, nor of *Mary* in the garden, his walking on the waters, his eſcaping from the multitude when they

led him to throw him headlong from a rock. Some of which passages at least verify *Origen's illud corpus aliis pollet privilegiis*; and the effects of these *privileges* are such as naturally proceed from *tennity* of *body:* For this disposition is both easily mouldable into any form and shape by the fancie and other natural powers of its actuating Spirit, and also easily passes through such bodies as to others are impervious, and is devoid of gravitation. But *Origen* no where saies that the body of Christ upon earth was not truly *flesh and blood.* For he knew well enough that there is no other difference in matter then what it receives from such or such modifications of its parts, and that it is capable of all these modifications where a sufficient cause works upon it, and such he very piously conceived the Soul of our Saviour to be: which could as well fix and constipate the matter of his body into a terrestrial crassenes, as loosen it into a spiritual tenuity; and when it was wrought into such particular modifications as constitute the form of flesh and blood, it was then as truly *flesh and blood* as that is which we mere mortal men are cloathed withall. And the *œconomy* of his evangelical undertaking both in his life and death requiring such a body, he very rarely gave any publick *specimen* of that mighty power which was in his *quickning Spirit*; but was content to want the happy privileges of that freer life he might have enjoyed by exerting that his heavenly power. For his humble and obedient Soul was resolved to perfect what he had taken upon him, whatever debasement, whatever inconvenience he should endure from the weight and pressure of his *Servile schema.* And moreover,

over, a firm hope of life and bleſſed immortality of the whole man being the main end of the Chriſtian myſtery, and the palpable evidence thereof in the perſon of our *Lord* being neceſſary to make his Apoſtles and Diſciples with boldneſs and courage and convictive teſtimony preach the Goſpel in the world, (whom we finde ſo amaſed at his death and crucifixion, that they knew not what to think of it;) it was therefore neceſſary that he ſhould exhibite himſelf to them again after his reſurrection in the ſame ſenſible manner of appearance that he did before his death: and if with the prints of his wounds received at his crucifixion, 'twould be the better, leſt their backwardneſs of belief in ſo ſtrange an Event ſhould make any of them (as it did S. *Thomas*) ſo curious as to demand or need ſo punctual an aſſurance; for this the wiſdome of his *œconomy* required as well as the other parts of his condeſcention. But for all this ſome of thoſe inſtances *Origen* takes notice of, as alſo his *transfiguration*, do very fairly invite us to believe, that he had that in him which was of ſuch ſovereign *energy* and *life*, as could *ſwallow up what was mortall in victory*, and *ſubdue every thing to it ſelf*. And the exerciſe of this power being onely reſtrained for the performing his temporary diſpenſation upon earth, that being ended, who can doubt but that it would then freely break forth and melt his body into ſuch a rarity and fineneſs as would like a *winged chariot* carry him from the earth? and the exertion of this power being ſo temper'd as not forthwith to make his body pure *æther*, he might as well for ſome time in his *aſcent* be corporally beheld by his diſciples, as *Chriſt*

and

and *Spectres* are, whose sudden disappearing does sufficiently manifest that they had not such bodies as we *terrestrial* men have. Nay *Epiphanius* himself, not wont to be very philosophical, though he contend for Christ's rising from the dead with the same body he had before, yet he presently tells us what *sameness* of body he means by acknowledging that his *raised body* was changed into a *spiritual subtilty* and *tenuity*, by the advantage whereof he entred the doors when shut; which (he saies) cannot be done by the bodies we have here διὰ ϑ παχυμερὴς, and not having yet attained their spiritual tenuity. He affirms likewise that the body which Christ shewed to S. *Thomas* was the same which was crucified, but changed into a *spiritual tenuity*, and that which was before παχυμερὴς was then πνευματικὸν and λεπτομερὴς. How farre this is from the *Origenian heresy* I leave you to judge; and shall let his adversaries fight it out amongst themselves, since I perceive there is dissention amongst them. For it is not the *same* individual *particles* of matter that we in this question principally deny or dispute about, but the *same modification* and *consistency* of body with that which is in *flesh and blood*. It may perhaps seem to some very strangely done of us, (that I say no worse) who read that the *descent* of Christ from Heaven was his *humiliation*, and his taking upon him the *form of a servant* and being made in the *likeness of sinful flesh* his *exinanition*, yet to be so desirous to imprison him still in the same servile condition, and to be unwilling that he should resume that ancient glory and liberty which he had with God before his incarnation. And if it was

done

done out of half as much malice as ignorance, no man would doubt to pronounce that it was next to *crucifying our Lord afreſh, and putting him to perpetual ſhame.* After all this which hath been ſaid, it will not be neceſſary to give a formal anſwer to the Objectors *Syllogiſme.* But in ſtead thereof I ſhall onely point at two or three places of Scripture, and leave you to conſider them. *The firſt man Adam is* ψυχικὸς, *the ſecond man the Lord is* πνευματικός. *But Chriſt being come or made an high prieſt of good things to come, by a better and more perfect Tabernacle,* ὐ χειροποιήτου, τουτέστιν, ὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως, *enter'd into the holy places not made with hands, heaven it ſelf. Fleſh and blood ſhall not inherit the kingdome of God.* I cannot get it out of my fancy, but that there is an intimation of ſomething contrary to the *Objectors* pretenſions in theſe texts which follow. —*Jeſus the Chriſt come in fleſh.* Ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ —— Ὃς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, &c. Καὶ τελειωθεὶς, &c. I deſire you likewiſe to try if you can make any ſenſe of the *ſixth* of S. *John*, from the 32. ver. to the end, which ſhall ſo naturally agree to the words as that which we have aimed at in our anſwer to this objection concerning Chriſts body. *I am the bread of life which truely came down from heaven, which he that eateth thereof ſhall never die. The bread which I will give is* my Fleſh, *which I will give for the life of the world. He that eateth* my Fleſh *and drinketh* my Blood, *hath eternal life, and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day. Many therefore of his diſciples when they heard this, ſaid, This is an hard ſaying, who can hear it?* But he anſwered them, *Doth this offend you?*

What and if you ſhall ſee the Son of man aſcend up where he was before? The ſpirit is that which quickens, the fleſh profiteth nothing; the words which I have ſpoke unto you are Spirit *and* Life. This *Chapter* is by ſome interpreted of the *ſymbolical* participation of the *body and blood* of Chriſt in the commemoration of his death; which though I acknowledge to be the higheſt, moſt ſolemn and moſt uſeful part of publick devotion that the Chriſtian Church uſes, yet I think I may, without any irreverence to my deareſt Lord and Saviour, affirm, that the effect aſcribed to the *manducation* ſpoken of in this *Chapter*, i. e. *eternal life*, is too great for the cauſe aſſigned. Others interpret it of *Faith in him* and *Obedience to his precepts*; but by ſo doing they doe that themſelves which they cannot away with in others, to wit, depart from the *letter* where there is no need. For the very *letter* here is (as I may ſay) the greateſt *myſtery* of the Goſpel; the *communion of the body* of Chriſt being truly *eternal life*, the end of our Faith and the reward and crown of our Obedience. And if the word *eating* be tropological, 'tis the modeſteſt *trope* that can be: for what other word could be uſed to expreſs our participation of a *body* which was to give and prolong life to him that is made partaker of it, even as our daily food does to our mortal Fleſh? So that our expoſition adjuſting the cauſe and effect, and yet keeping to the very letter, may very deſervedly be look'd upon as the true and natural one: which if it be, I leave you to judge, whether we have not fully anſwered the *Objection*, and out of his mouth who is *Truth it ſelf* ſhewn that it is a great miſtake and a diminution to his holy perſon.

Secondly,

Secondly, they say that *Enoch* and *Elias* were translated to heaven in their terrestrial bodies, and there live in the *Flesh* and *members* wherein they were translated; therefore shall we likewise have the same kinde of bodie there which we now have upon earth. To this I answer, that that good Providence which governs the world hath in all ages been so gracious to mankinde, that she hath from time to time raised up such holy men as should by their excellent life and doctrine teach the inhabitants of the earth the waies of vertue and godliness, such as *Plato* calls *good souls, who leaving their heavenly habitation were content to descend* εἰς τόνδε τὸν τάρταρον, *and assuming terrestrial bodies underwent all the calamities and disadvantages* τῶν ἐν γενέσει *out of kinde good will to men, to whom they gave laws and taught them philosophy.* Or if you suppose these holy personages, *friends of God and Prophets*, to have descended somewhat from the summity of their *æthereal life*, and thereby to have had a nearer disposition and fitness to actuate a terrestrial body, yet it was not so much but that they recovered it again before they left the earth, and therefore their departure hence (of some of them I mean) would not be after the ordinary way of men: and the rather, because the terrestrial life and the pleasures of our fleshly body do so exstinguish our hope and belief of something to come, that we have alwaies need of such palpable pledges of continuance in life after this is ended; which therefore Providence mercifully afforded to the generations of men in such like examples as the *objection* instances in out of the Jewish records. But to be short, I say, that that most excellent and most

energetical part in us which the Scripture calls *Spirit*, being throughly enlivened, hath a power to quicken any kinde of body it is united with into a vigour and ſubtilty anſwerable to its own might and purity; and thoſe two holy perſons *Enoch* and *Elias* by this advantage of their exalted *ſpirit* partaking of the like power and virtue in good meaſure which we have before ſhewn to have been in our Saviour in a moſt eminent degree, they might leave the earth and aſcend to heaven as he did, but with no more neceſſity that this ſhould be in a *terreſtrial* body as ſuch, then that Chriſt aſcended and is glorified in ſuch a body. And for *Elias*, the chariots of fire and horſes of fire mentioned in the ſtory of his aſcenſion plainly ſignify to the intelligent reader in what kinde of *vehicle* he aſcended. His faſting fourty daies, and raiſing the widow's ſon by ſtretching himſelf upon him (that I may name no more of his miraculous operations) are an argument of ſome very efficacious principle in him; like as it was in Chriſt to cure by a *touch*, who once ſaid that he *perceived virtue was gone out of him*. Now wherein this miraculous power did in great meaſure conſiſt, *Herod* according to the opinion of the Jews informs us, who hearing of the miracles that Chriſt did, ſaid that *John the Baptiſt was riſen from the dead, and therefore wonder-working powers did ſhew forth themſelves in him*. But *John* did no miracle in his life-time, and therefore this inference of *Herod*'s is not from the perſon of *John* at large, but from the exaltation of power and virtue which he believed naturally accrewed to him from the excellency of the ſtate of the Reſurrection. And ſomething like

like this may be ſaid alſo of *Elias*; that he had attained in ſome ſort to the *reſurrection of the dead* in this life, which in the *Jewiſh* notion is the ſame with the *vivification of the body* (as is plain in many places in S. *Paul*'s Epiſtles) and therefore cannot belong to the body of *Fleſh* as ſuch, which he every where calls θνητὸν and νεκρόν.

Thirdly, they object out of S. *Paul*, *This corruptible muſt put on incorruption, and this mortal muſt put on immortality, not in general, mortal and corruptible, but* this *mortal and* this *corruptible.* This is *Epiphanius* his objection; but I think I have intimated already what kinde of individuation of body he contends for, to wit, ſuch as ariſes from the *ſame* numerical *particles* of matter, though this ſame matter be changed into what tenuity you pleaſe. But this *fameneſs of body* does not oppoſe the aſſertion of *Origen* as we have delivered it in his *fourth* Opinion; which onely affirms, that the bodies we ſhall have in the bleſſed Reſurrection will be of an *ætherial* ſubtilty, without thinking it worth the while to determine whether they ſhall become ſo tenuious by the change of that matter which was once terreſtrial into an æthereal purity, or otherwaies. And if they can fancy any way whereby that may be done, in that great and neceſſary flux of all matter in the world, in that infinite diſperſion of thoſe parts of matter which did once meet together and made up the body of a man, in their innumerable aſſumptions and adoptions into other bodies; and this without making the exerciſe of the knowledge and power of God nice and punctual to no purpoſe, and to no benefit and behoof of thoſe

Souls for whom he is supposed to make those bodies; if they can fancy any such way, they shall have my free leave (if S. *Paul* do not say otherwise) and may be *Origen*'s too without much difficulty, who look'd at nothing so much in his *hypothesis* of the Resurrection as the *vivification* of that body we shall then have into an *æthereal* purity. Yet it is not amiss if they take the advertisement along with them which he gives to such as set themselves to consider this Article of our Faith, and to answer the Objections which simpler men make against the true Notion of it, Χρὴ δὲ πάντα τὸν φιλαλήθη κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν νῦν διηπορημένα περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀγωνίζεσθαι, σῶσαί τι καὶ τὴν πρὸ αἰῶνος πρόδοσιν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς φλυαρίαν τῶν τοιούτων νοημάτων ἀδυνάτων τι, ἅμα καὶ Θεοῦ ἀναξίων. But if any fear they shall lose themselves and their proper personality in the world to come, unless the same individual *atomes* of matter meet again to constitute the body they shall then have; or if they imagine that *Origen*'s way will induce that monstrous change they fear; *Origen* himself bids them take heart, and assures them there is no such danger. For he thus speaks in *Methodius*, Though every body which is continually taking in and letting out its parts (as plants and animals) never hath the self-same ὑλικὸν ὑποκείμενον for two days together, but like a river is in perpetual change: yet *Peter* and *Paul* remain the same persons, both as to their Souls, which are stable and without flux, and also as to the ἴδιον χαρακτηριζον τὸ σῶμα, and all such peculiarities thereof as individuate *Peter* and *Paul* as to their bodies. Which individuating ἴδιον he sayes continues still to the body even in the Resur-

Reſurrection, but better'd and perfected. And again, Though it be neceſſary (ſayes he) that the Soul being in corporeal places ſhould uſe a body ſutable to the place ſhe is in, as if we were to be *aquatick animals* and live in the Sea, we ſhould have a body like to what the fiſhes have; ſo though for the ſame reaſon being to be heirs of the Kingdome of Heaven and Inhabitants of thoſe excellent Regions it be neceſſary that we have *ſpiritual* and *heavenly* bodies: yet for all this our ancient εἶδος is not deſtroy'd, though changed into greater glory, as was the form of *Jeſus*, *Moſes* and *Elias* in the Transfiguration. Laſtly, upon that place, *Fleſh and blood cannot enter into the Kingdome of God*, he ſayes, though our body there ſhall not be *Fleſh*, yet the εἶδος of our corporal perſon remains the ſame. For the Father knew that there is ſuch a thing as *humane forme* in what ſtate or place ſoever the Soul happens to live, and that the particularizing or individuating Notes of it proceed from the particular *ſeminal* or *formative reaſon* in the Soul of every individual man, which being a *power* that works fatally and without animadverſion, will work alike as to the main ſtrokes and lineaments in every kinde of body it operates upon; but where the matter is more pure and pliant, there no ſtrokes will miſcarry or be perverted, but the whole impreſſion will be exact, and faithfully anſwer the beautiful *Idea* according to which the *plaſtick* works. And the truth of this he ſaw confirmed by many credible Stories of the Apparitions of deceaſed men, which punctually retain'd the well-known *forms* they had when they lived upon earth, even in their fluid *vehicles of air*. So that whether

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that τοῦτο in S. *Paul* mean the *ſame* individual *particles* of matter, but changed into an *æthereal* conſiſtency, as *Epiphanius* would have it, or the *ſame* Form, Character and *Air* which particularize our bodily perſon, the opinion of *Origen* according as we have aſſerted it ſtands good and unſhaken. But if any man out of heedleſneſs or prejudice will venture to ſtretch the meaning of it further, as if it ſignified the *ſame* modification and conſiſtence of the *ſame* particles of matter with that they are in in the body of *fleſh*, he muſt firſt ask our leave to transferre the τοῦτο to ſome other place, and disjoyn it from the words of the Sentence where the *Apoſtle* hath placed it. For if he underſtand any thing of the nature of Bodies, he cannot but know that the *body* we now have is therefore *corruptible* and *mortal* becauſe it is *Fleſh*, and therefore if it *put on incorruption* and *immortality* it muſt *put off* it ſelf firſt and ceaſe to be *fleſh*. For that which is eſſentially ſuch or ſuch, is ſo at all times and in all places. He that ſhould take up in his hand ſome dirty piece of wood, and tell a by-ſtander that he could make that wood a pure bright flame, would never perſwade him that it ſhould continue *wood* ſtill, be he never ſo ſimple; I think he would be more wiſe and wary then the *Satyre* was, and not imagine he could handle it now as harmleſly as he might before, nor put it to any of thoſe uſes it was fit for before it was laid on the fire: for its properties are changed, and it is become perfectly another thing. Laſtly, (that we may make an end of this) they that conſider how neceſſary it was for the *Apoſtles* even in their moſt philoſophical Doctrines to uſe a groſſer and more palpable way of

ſpeech,

ſpeech, leſt otherwiſe their ruder and more unlearned Diſciples ſhould not be benefited, will eaſily ſatisfie themſelves that this Objection does not ſo much as weaken their Opinion, who think it more congruous to the Nature of things to ſay, we ſhall not ſo much as have the ſame particles of matter (unleſs by chance) though ſuppoſed to be changed into that *æthereal* purity which *Origen* contends for. But this is more then our preſent cauſe required.

Their *fourth* Objection is this *Text*, *If the Spirit of him that raiſed Jeſus from the dead dwell in you, he that raiſed Chriſt from the dead ſhall alſo quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit dwelling in you.* By *raiſing* and *quickning* (they ſay) the Reſurrection is underſtood, and the mortal bodies to be raiſed are our bodies of fleſh which are truly mortal, therefore in the Reſurrection we ſhall have bodies of fleſh. To this I anſwer, *firſt*, that the *vivification* here mention'd is not the great day of Reſurrection in the end of the world, as he that will take the pains to read from the beginning of the *ſixth Chapter* to the end of the *eighth*, in which the Objection is, will plainly ſee. For in this diſcourſe S. *Paul* tells us of two *Principles* that are in us, the Spirit, Mind, or inward man, and the Old man or Fleſh; the Law of the *firſt* is the Law of Life and Righteouſneſs, but of the *ſecond* the law of death and ſin. Theſe two Principles are ſo contrary and their laws ſo oppoſite to one another, that they cannot both live or reign together; hence therefore ariſes in us great ſlavery or diſtraction: but Chriſt was given us of God to free us from the latter, the law of death, and to ſave us by his *Life*, who is the *Spirit of life*. From

whence the *Apoſtle* according to his wont takes occaſion to teach us, that whatever happen'd to Chriſt the Captain of our Salvation, to whoſe image we are in all things to be conform'd, the ſame is *myſtically* to be wrought in us: ſo that as he was crucified and died, ſo that which is mortal in us, the *body of death and ſin*, was to be crucified and die likewiſe; and as he was raiſed up from the dead by the glory of the Father, ſo ſhould we alſo be to walk in newneſs of life, and ſerve in the newneſs of Spirit, which then we ſhall doe when that *Spirit of life* and power which raiſed Chriſt from the dead ſhall ſo ſtrengthen that better Principle in us which he calls *Spirit*, and which he ſaies is *life*, that it with him become the cauſe of *life* and vivification to our otherwiſe-*mortal body*, and make us alive from the dead unto God. To which interpretation the *Apoſtle* bears witneſs in giving thanks to God, that he had *deliver'd him from the body of death*, or the mortal body, and in affirming afterwards, *that the law of the Spirit of life*, or quickning Spirit, *in Chriſt Jeſus had freed him from the law of ſin and death*, which is the law in the members of the mortal body, the body of ſin or the fleſh of ſin; but certainly the operations of the *Spirit of life*, or quickning Spirit, are all vivificative, and if the Subject upon which they are exerciſed be the *body*, it will thereby become quickned. Now S. *Paul* affirming they had paſſed upon him does plainly inform us, that the *vivification of the mortal body* mention'd in the Objection is ſomething that is wrought in us in this life, contrary to what the Objectors pretend. And though I am the leaſt confident of any man that heartily believes the Scripture,

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to eſtabliſh the ſenſe and interpretation of any part of it upon *tittles* and *apices*, yet having (as I think) given the Summary ſenſe of the *Apoſtle* in theſe Chapters (of which taken altogether a man may be more aſſured) and conceiving it very agreeable to reaſon, I think I may now be bolder to make my advantage of that which ſingle and by it ſelf I ſhould make no great matter of. The words of the Objection are theſe, *If the Spirit of him that raiſed up Jeſus from the dead dwell in you, he that raiſed up Chriſt from the dead* ζωοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, ſhall quicken even your mortal bodies *by his* or the ſame *Spirit dwelling in you*; i. e. the Spirit of life and righteouſneſs ſhall exert his vivificative energy upon theſe mortal bodies of yours, and they which without his enlivening power only *bring forth fruit unto death*, ſhall by his inhabitation in you have ſuch a *preparatory* power and virtue imparted to them, that *ſin ſhall not reign in them*, but *their fruits ſhall be unto holineſs*; while you are conſtrain'd to be cloathed with them, and the *end* and perfect completion of his work ſhall be *eternal life*. The thing it ſelf abſtracted from all full and pregnant authority of Scripture is ſo reaſonable to thoſe who have conſidered and marked in themſelves with what dependance we act upon ſomething in our bodies, that the leaſt intimation from ſo authentick teſtimony might be ſufficient to aſſure them of the truth of it. But this ſame holy *Apoſtle*, who in the very ſame Subject once ſaid, *If ye be any otherwiſe minded God will reveal this unto you*, hath himſelf taken further care that this ſo true and ſo concerning a notion ſhould be received by all with whom his authority or the reaſonableneſs of the

thing is of any value. Many places there are in his Epiſtles to this purpoſe: ſome of them which I now remember I ſhall give you. *And not onely they, but we our ſelves alſo who have* the firſt fruits of the Spirit; *even we our ſelves groan within our ſelves waiting for the adoption, the redemption of our body——For we that are in this tabernacle do groan being burthened, ſo farre as we would be (I do not ſay uncloathed, but) cloathed upon, that ſo that which is mortal in us might be ſwallowed up of life. Now he that hath made, fitted or framed us for this very thing, this victory of life, is God, who hath alſo given us as a pledge and part thereof* the earneſt of the Spirit. —— *In whom after that ye believed, ye were ſealed with that holy Spirit of Promiſe, who is* the earneſt of our inheritance, *until the compleat redemption of the purchaſed poſſeßion be effected. With which ſame Spirit the eyes of your underſtanding being enlightned, you will know what is the hope of his calling, and what the rich glory of his inheritance in the holy or heavenly places above, and what is the exceeding greatneſs of his power to us-ward who believe, even ſuch and ſo great as he wrought in Chriſt, raiſing him from the dead, and ſetting him at his own right hand in the heavenly regions.* Which places, if you minde them throughout, cannot but ſeem to you to intimate a certain inchoation of the *athereal* life wrought in us by the holy Spirit, by which *the life of Jeſus*, the heavenly *Adam* and vivificating Spirit, *is manifeſted even in our mortal Fleſh.* For what elſe can be the *firſt fruits of the Spirit*, where the whole *harveſt* is the *redemption of our body from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God*, the angelick Inhabitants of

of the *free æther?* And what elſe can be the *earneſt of the Spirit*, where the whole price is the *cloathing of us with our houſe from heaven, eternal and æthereal?* Or what the earneſt of our inheritance, (which ought to be homogeneous with the whole Summe) when the inheritance is the Kingdome of Heaven, the regions of light and glory? But *ſecondly*, ſuppoſing the laſt and final Reſurrection in the conſummation of all things was meant by the *Apoſtle*, it would be ſo farre from advantaging the *Objectors* pretenſions, that it would utterly deſtroy their cauſe. For if the body of Fleſh be a mortal body, if it be quickned and made a living or immortal one, it muſt be made ſomething elſe intrinſecally then what it was; but it being Fleſh before, it muſt not be Fleſh when 'tis enlivened too. For if ſuch a form of ſpeaking be allowed which can reconcile ſuch different attributes and affections to the ſame Subject, farewell all Philoſophy and all intelligible ſpeech 'twixt man and man. The fabled miſtakes at *Babel* at this rate of ſpeaking would not be miſtakes; and by a farre leſs licence then they take to themſelves it might be defended, that he did right who being bid reach a *Trowel* brought a *Pickaxe*; and the Fox fear'd more then the arbitrarious power of the Lion, when he feared his *ears* might be called *horns*.

The *fifth* Objection may be that known place in *Job*, which *Jerome* wonderfully triumphs in, and cannot tell what ground to ſtand on for joy he had found an argument which ſo ſtrikes the matter quite dead. And though life and immortality be brought to light through the Goſpel, yet he in a jolly confidence doubts not to ſay, *Nullus tam apertè poſt Chriſtum*

ſtum quam iſte ante Chriſtum de Reſurrectione loquitur. But I muſt confeſs he had great reaſon to be ſo glad of this place as he is; for that courſneſs of ſpirit which dictated theſe words, *Is ſi non in ſexu ſuo reſurrecturus eſt, ſi non eiſdem membris quæ jacuere in ſtercore, ſi non eoſdem oculos aperiat ad videndum Deum, quibus tunc videbat vermiculos, ubi erit ergo Job? tollis ea in quibus ſubſtitit,* this ſpirit, I ſay, had need of ſupport from ſuch an interpretation as he gives this text. But he that ſhall conſider how many ſeveral waies that place is tranſlated and interpreted by ſuch as are famous for their skill in the language, and how many words they are fain to ſupply by mere gueſs to make any ſentence in it intire and perfect, and with what ſuſpence of minde they propound to their readers either this or that ſenſe ſo patch'd up by them, will be very difficultly drawn to believe the riſing again of Fleſh upon the authority of *Job*, unleſs he be intereſſed by a former perſwaſion, and ſo think that all things he reads without chime after the meaſures of his inward phanſy. For the holy man ſeems to ſay no more then this, That though God had ſore afflicted and purſued him as his enemy even unto death, though all his kinsfolk and friends had forſaken and abhorred him; yet ſtill would he truſt in God, who he knew was the patron of the innocent and calamitous, who ever lives, and whoſe hand is not ſhortned that he cannot ſave and deliver thoſe that hope in him. And though for the preſent he had hid his face from him, yet he would at laſt conſpicuouſly appear for his reſcue and redemption. And after my skin be conſumed, let that which remains of me be by

by piecemeals deſtroyed likewiſe, yet I am confident that I ſhall ſee him again who is now withdrawn from me, ſound and intire, and that with theſe languiſhing eyes which ſo long have ſeen nought but the wounds of his indignation. Now the event exactly anſwering his hope ſo deſcribed, would probably perſwade a man that the *paraphraſe* we have given, or ſome other like it, is the true meaning of the words. For the *Lord* at laſt turn'd the captivity of *Job*, and then all his kinsfolk and friends and acquaintance, who had forſaken him before in his calamity, flock'd to him again, to comfort him concerning all the evil he had undergone, and to congratulate his deliverance. It may alſo ſeem a wonderfull thing, if this place make ſo plainly for them as they crack, that the *Jewiſh* writers ſhould not interpret it to that ſenſe; who for want of any tolerable arguments in their Scriptures for the proof of the reſurrection, do pitifully and contemptibly catch at every *tittle* and *apex* of a letter that looks that way. And the reaſon that ſome give of this their omiſſion, to wit, that they were affraid of the word *redeemer*, and ſo choſe to balk a text which would have much confirm'd the opinion they would gladly have advanc'd, rather then by uſing it to that purpoſe countenance ſuch a notion of their *Meſſiah* as they loved not to hear of, is very ſlight. For certainly, here is not the leaſt intimation of an humble and meek Saviour, whoſe kingdome is not of this world, whoſe ſpirit and laws put contempt upon all thoſe things which the natural man ſo highly values, who was at laſt to be ignominiouſly crucified, and to leave the Civil ſtate of the world juſt as he found

found it, and the *Jews* ſtill ſubject to an Idolatrous yoke. This is the Scandal and ſtumbling-block of the Jews, not the title of *Redeemer*; for certainly the two diſciples to whom Chriſt joyn'd himſelf as they were travelling to *Emmaus* ſpoke according to the common phraſe and opinion of the Jews concerning their exſpected *Meſſiah*, when they ſaid, *we truſted it had been he which ſhould have* redeemed *Iſrael*. For *redeemer* and *redemption* in the ſenſe of the Chriſtian myſtery is not onely not inconſiſtent with, but neceſſarily requires Chriſt's being condemned to death and crucified; and yet his death and crucifixion was that which made theſe diſciples conclude he could not be the redeemer of *Iſrael*.

I ſhall trouble you but with one Objection more againſt this Opinion, and it ſhall be that which is drawn from the Juſtice and Righteouſneſs of God, which they ſay cannot ſtand unleſs the ſame body of fleſh riſe again which was partner with the Soul in all ſhe did, whether good or bad, & accordingly ſhare with her either in reward or puniſhment. For 'tis not equal that that body which had been induſtrious, temperate and chaſte, ſhould be ſupplanted in its hopes by a new-comer which underwent not any ſuch tedious hardſhip and ſevere ſelf-denial; neither is it juſt that that body which had lived in all debauchery and exceſs and violence ſhould eſcape, and another farre more innocent be whipped in its ſtead. Which argument *Epiphanius* further carries on in ſuch ridiculous *Schemes* of ſpeech, as for his credit I ſhall not produce. That a young man of a good fancy and choice words might handſomly declaim in this Cauſe

I by no means will deny; but that there is any thing in it beſide empty pomp built upon ignorance, I fear you would not grant. You are not wont to be ſo great a friend to Mr. *Hobbes* as to think that *matter* by what name ſoever it be called, *dead* or *living*, hath any ſenſe or perception at all, much leſs can it be vertuous or vicious. Yet upon this ſuppoſal their objection is made and built, which being groſsly falſe, and the wideſt inlet that is unto *Atheiſme*, their ill-ſupported edifice comes tumbling to the ground, and for the intereſt of vertue and religion, they ought not to reſent the ruine. Yet it would be very eaſie for me to ſhew moreover from the continual flux and change of our bodies that their pretended juſtice would not hold in their way neither; but the thing is obvious and cannot eſcape your notice. He that prevents the aſſaſſination of his Prince by killing the treacherous murderer, ought by your ſuppoſition to riſe again with the ſame ſword by his ſide wherewith he did that laudable action, as well as with the ſame hands which diſtributed to the wants of the poor; for one is as much an inſtrument of vertue as the other, and as ſenſible of reward. I believe the matter that makes up the *vehicle* of the Devil is as well content with its lot as that which compoſes the beautiful robe of an Angel of light. But this is too much to be ſaid againſt nothing. And I know no other uſe can be made of this objection then this, to let you ſee that their ſo eager and zealous oppoſing of *Origen* did probably proceed onely from their not knowing the natures of things. For, for want of ſome true ſetled notions in their mindes which might guide

their expoſitions of Scripture aright, they were eaſily miſs-led by any words they read, and as eaſily blurted out very weak and ridiculous things. Which defect I perceiving in them, gave ſo much to their unqueſtion'd piety and eminence in other kinds of learning, as not rudely to preſs them in this queſtion with many *phyſical* conſiderations which would overthrow the Opinion they contend for from the very foundations. One whereof *Jerome* ſeems to have been aware of, and therefore to ſecure the *body of Fleſh* from diſſolution in the *æthereal* regions, he ſaies that *lutum carnis in teſtam excoquetur*; the beſt way I know to keep it unconſumed in the Fire: and he ſeems hugely pleaſed with this conceit, and does more then once make uſe of it either as a ſubtilty or an elegance in his diſcuſſions of the *Origenian Errours*. If I had a minde to produce all the abſurd paſſages I obſerved in *him*, *Epiphanius*, and his two *Aſſiſtants*, you would hardly forbear to ſay (as candid and equal a Cenſurer as you are) they were men of ordinary *intellectuals*. But in ſuch ſubjects as are beſt diſcern'd and trueſt pronounced of from a moral ſenſe and reliſh of ſpirit (which is a perfection farre more divine then the other) I do freely acknowledge them very excellent perſons. And thus have I after my laxe careleſs way anſwered to their chiefeſt Objections againſt *Origen*'s *fourth* Opinion.

Againſt the *fifth Epiphanius* ſaies not a ſyllable, and I think does not ſo much as barely name it: and I remember nothing in *Jerome* about it but ſuch admirations as theſe, That the Devils ſhould become Angels again, and *Judas* a Saint! And ſince he hath been

been pleaſed to ſay no more, I ſhall not ſay much, but onely ask, what difference is there in the diſtance betwixt a *devil* made an *angel*, and an *angel* made a *devil*? I am ſure the advantage is on the aſcending part rather then on the deſcending; for the mercy and compaſſion of God to all the works of his hands may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to help them up though undeſerving, but there is nothing in his moſt righteous nature which would caſt them down without their high demerit. But if S. *Jerome* wondred at this *reſtitution* as *certain* or *eaſie* or of *ſhort* diſpatch, 'tis his own miſtake he wondered at, not *Origen*'s opinion, at leaſt in the two laſt particulars. What *Methodius* diſputes from the nature and reaſon of puniſhment againſt *Origen*'s making the terreſtrial body δεσμὸν καὶ πάθος, if it be applied to the final puniſhment which God will inflict upon all the obdurately-wicked in the end of this world, will as much confirm this *fifth* Opinion, as he imagined through miſtake of the *Father*'s doctrine and a pedantick accuracy in the uſe of a word it would weaken the third; and ſo he really gives the *Father* as much with one hand, as he but thinks he takes from him with the other. For he very largely diſputes in his *Socratical* way, that all puniſhment is curative and for the emendation of the ſuffering party. Some there are that think thoſe phraſes of πῦρ αἰώνιον and κόλασις αἰώνιος and the like cannot be reconciled with *Origen*'s Opinion. But theſe Objectors ſeem to take the meaning of the word αἰώνιος from Scholaſtick Definitions, rather then from the true and lawful Maſters of Language, or the authentick Rule of its popular Uſe. For 'tis notoriouſly known that the *Jews*, whether writing in *Hebrew* or

Greek, do by עולם and αἰὼν mean any remarkable period of duration, whether it be of life, or diſpenſation, or polity. Any of which periods if plainly computable by a known time, they do then define it by a ſet number of years; but others which are not ſo known they ſimply expreſs by עולם or αἰὼν, leaving the length of them to be determined according to the nature of the Subject matter; which where it is ſuch as comprehends more then a ſingle determinable αἰὼν, they expreſs it in *Hebrew* by the phraſe of לעולם ועד, in *Greek* by εἰς τὸ αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι, or εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας and εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. But by none of theſe forms do they mean a *Scholaſtick* Eternity, unleſs the nature of the thing then expreſſed require ſuch an interminable duration. And hence the Period of this world is called αἰὼν οὗτος, when yet there is another to ſucceed it, αἰὼν ἐκεῖνος: and as theſe αἰῶνες differ ſo would alſo the meaning of αἰώνιος be different according as it was applied to the one or other of them. And ſo in the *plural* Chriſt is ſaid to appear and ſuffer ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων, when yet the longeſt αἰὼν of all was not then come. And he of whom it was ſaid, *Thy Throne, O God, is* εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, is yet to *deliver up the Kingdome to God the Father, and to be ſubject himſelf to him who did ſubject all things to him*; ſo that here is plainly an end of that *Reign* which is ſaid to be *for ever and ever*. And as ἀπ' αἰῶνος does not in Scripture ſignifie *from all eternity* in the ſenſe of the *Schools*, ſo by the ſame reaſon ought not εἰς αἰῶνα to ſignifie *to all eternity* in the ſame notion: and is not εἰς αἰῶνα and αἰώνιον all one? Every Lexicographer & Expoſitor will furniſh you with authorities enough to confirm what

I have ſaid; and I leave you to judge, whether the whole ſubject matter in this *periodical doom*, the Nature of that *fire* and it's fewel, the powers of a ſpirit incorporate, be not ſuch as will inforce us to make it ſhorter then ſome men do, who having got eaſie wayes of aſſuring themſelves it ſhall not be their portion, do as little pity thoſe calamitous Souls whoſe lot it may be as they darkly fancy God himſelf does. But though we from the reaſon of things and right uſe of words do make it ſhorter then they do, yet according to our *hypotheſis* the whole puniſhment of *pain* and *death* will neceſſarily be ſo long as may juſtly be called αἰώνιον. in a very high ſenſe of the word. But if out of filial regard to the authority of our *dear Mother* the Church of *England* you are yet ſomething backward to give aſſent to the probability of *Origen*'s doctrine; I would have you firſt to conſider that all thoſe that write and preach in this Nation are not her Sons, no more then they of *Geneva*, or *Scotland*, or *New England* are; ſecondly, I would fain know why ſhe who in her 39 *Articles* does ſo punctually follow the Articles agreed upon in *K. Edward*'s daies, or with very little variation, ſhould wholly omit that *Article* which condemns the reſtorers of this Opinion, if ſhe had thought it ought to have been condemn'd. And the ſame may be ſaid in behalf of the preceding Opinion; for ſhe hath quite left out that *Article* of *K. Edw.* wherein it is affirm'd that *the dead ſhall be reſtor'd to their own bodies, fleſh and bones*; very modeſtly and wiſely contenting her ſelf to impoſe no more on the belief of her Sons in this particular, then what the three *Creeds* ſay of it, which ſhe approves of in her VIII *Article:* but they ſay no more

then that there shall be a *Resurrection of the dead*, or *Resurrection of the body*.

Epiphanius is also silent in the *sixth* and last Opinion, and *Jerome* saies nothing against it. Nay it seem'd so reasonable a doctrine, that *Proclus* by his suffrage confirms the truth of it. For to *Aglaophon* the *Origenist*, in the Question about our future bodies, arguing from the conflagration of the world, and upon that demanding ἐν ποίᾳ διαγωγῇ τότε τὰ σώματα ἔσονται, when earth and air shall be utterly defaced, he thus answers, That there shall indeed be a *conflagration*, but not to consume things, but to perfect and renew them; for since it is better they should be then not be, (as is plain in that God made them to be, which he would not have done had it not been the better) it is better they should ever be. And to this sense he interprets that of S. *Paul*, *The creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption*; and also that of *Isaiah*, *New heavens and new earth*. Which is just the same with that of *Sophocles*,

Ἔσται γὰρ, ἔσται καινὸς αἰῶνος χρόνος,
Ὅτ' ἂν πυρὸς γέμοντα θησαυρὸν σχάσῃ
Χρύσωπος αἰθὴρ, ἡ δὲ βοσκηθεῖσα φλὸξ
Ἅπαντα τἀπίγεια καὶ μετάρσια
Φλέξει μαμεῖσα. ὅτ' ἂν δὲ, &c.
Κἄπειτα σώσει πάνθ' ἃ πρόσθ' ἀπώλεσεν.

So that *Proclus* at least grants *one* new habitation and plantation of the earth again after the conflagration. And I esteem it a great blessing that our enemies are so farre at peace with us, as either to say nothing against us, or in our behalf; especially in these two last Opinions of the *Father*, which seem the most bold and venturesome of all the rest. But it seems that as all

Truth

Truth was not diſcovered in one age, but ſomething of her hid treaſures is purpoſely concealed to be the price and reward of after-inquirers, that ſo every generation may have ſomething of peculiar excellency to equal it to thoſe that went before: ſo neither is all Errour detected and profligated by the conduct and courage of the learned of one Age. And therefore thoſe pious and learned men whom I have made uſe of for the refutation of *Origen*'s temerities, contenting themſelves with their zealous endeavours to correct ſome of them, have left the reſt to be the ſpoil of their victorious Succeſſours; which with what ſucceſs and by what arms they have done is not my purpoſe now to ſhew. For truly, *Sir*, I am perfectly tired already, and your commands which alone made me hold out ſo long, by good hap confined my *Enquiry* to the more antient Writers; which now I have brought to an end: and having given you this Notice, that where I ſay S. *Jerome* is ſilent or ſaies little of this or that queſtion debated, my meaning is onely that he is ſo in ſuch of his writings as were purpoſely compoſed concerning *Origen*'s *dogmata* (for what he is occaſionally in his other works I cannot tell, I neither having them, nor being in a place where I have opportunity to procure them) having given you this advertiſement, it remains onely that I beg your pardon for the imperfect reſolution I have endeavour'd of your *Queres*, and for the careleſneſs you will diſcover in my ſtyle, and the negligent tacking of ſentence to ſentence even to the obſcuring my ſenſe ſometimes; Faults I confeſs which might eaſily be mended, but not being ſo, therefore need your pardon more: for to

tell

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tell you the truth, I was unwilling to render the whole illegible by too frequent interlining, and very loath to write so long a letter over again. Which I desire you to accept of, such as it is, as a testimony of that great power your commands have over me, which you see I have not detected even in an argument where the Sentiments of my own mind are not at all interested · for I am

SIR,

Your, &c.

The End.

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